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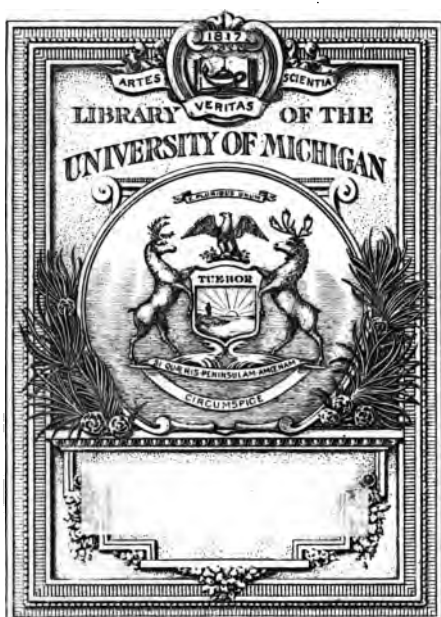
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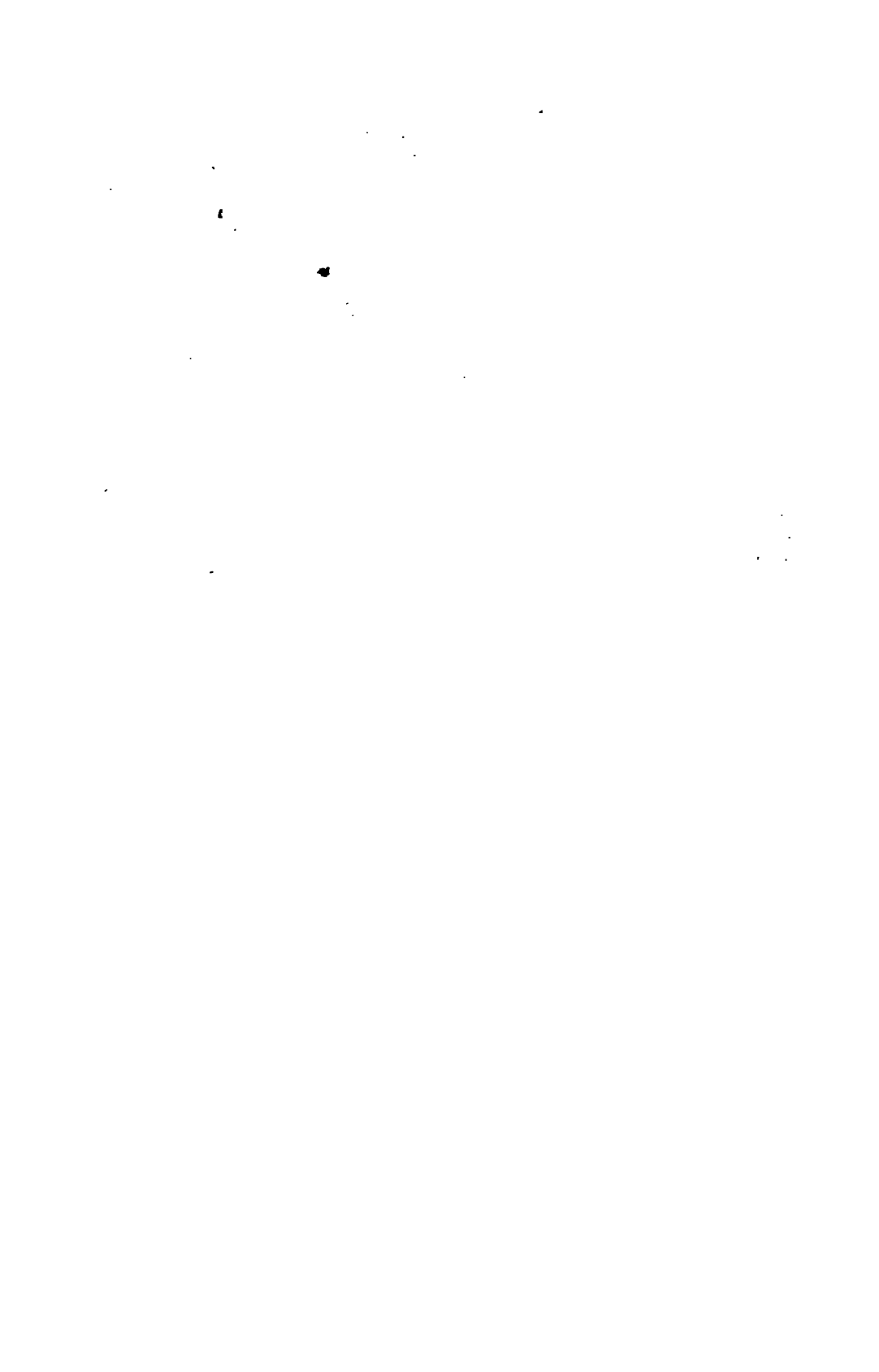
of A. S. V. in a letter  
July 16<sup>th</sup> 1928

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**MEMOIRS**  
**OF**  
**HER MAJESTY**  
**QUEEN CAROLINE AMELIA ELIZ.**  
**CONSORT OF GEORGE IV.**

**KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

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**BY JOHN WILKS, JUN.**

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*Veritas nihil veretur nisi abscondi.*    *TER.*

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**VOL. I.**

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**LONDON:**  
**PRINTED FOR SHERWOOD, NEELY, AND JONES,**  
**PATERNOSTER ROW.**

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**1822.**

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## INTRODUCTION.

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**T**HE Royal Family of England, which by the Act of Succession includes all the Members of the illustrious House of Brunswick, have long been regarded by the country, as a species of public property in which the humblest subject in the land, claims a deep and lively interest. Whatever, consequently, stands immediately connected with the honour and the happiness of those exalted individuals, necessarily becomes a source of national concern, nor can any of them be subjected to indignity or insult, without diffusing over the public mind a corresponding portion of sympathy and regret. It is obvious, too, that the nearer the Members of the Royal Family approximate to the Throne, the deeper is the interest which Englishmen are prompted to feel in all that relates to them.

These reflections naturally arise out of the subject which occupies the following pages of this publication. Since the reign of Henry the Eighth, Great Britain has possessed no Queen, whose character and personal history will bear any comparison in point of interest, with that of her late Majesty Queen Caroline. And though it must be admitted that we of the present generation, are placed too near the scene of action to take an enlarged, comprehensive, and impartial survey of the whole concatenation of extraordinary occurrences which have transpired in our days, and in which the subject of this Memoir was fated to sustain so tragical a part; it is nevertheless, of the last importance that the people of this country should be put in possession of those facts and documents, which shall qualify them in their more deliberate moments, when the effervescence of party feeling shall have subsided, to form a correct and deliberate judgment on points, concerning which they are at present unhappily divided.

It is in the hope and confident expectation of being able to contribute somewhat towards the public satisfaction, in a case in which that public feels so acutely, that the Author of these volumes presumes to solicit the attention of his cotem-

poraries to their contents. Partial Memoirs and garbled accounts of this illustrious personage, hastily compiled for the purpose of sale, by persons who knew no more about her than what they were able to collect from the daily papers, have profusely issued from the press. With such productions, the present work disdains to urge any competition. Had the Author not been in possession of more authentic sources of information, or had he nothing better to communicate than the stale and hackneyed topics which have occupied the pages of his predecessors, he certainly should not have taken up his pen upon the present occasion, nor obtruded himself upon the notice of the public. But, after the signal proofs which he has been compelled, in his own defence, to produce, of his competency to the task which he has undertaken, he trusts he may be excused from enlarging further on this subject.

It is certainly a very just observation, which Dr. Middleton makes in his Life of Cicero, that Biographers are too apt to be partial and prejudiced in favour of their subject, and to give us panegyric instead of history. They work up their characters as painters do their portraits; taking the praise of their art to consist, not in copying, but in adorning nature; not in drawing

a just resemblance, but in giving a fine picture. Aware of this common prejudice, the Author has endeavoured to divest himself of it as far as he was able, though he cannot flatter himself with the hope of having completely succeeded. This is a point, however, which must be left to the decision of the judgment of his Readers, who, if they should occasionally meet with expressions that have been extorted from him, by what has appeared to him to be cruel and unmerited treatment, will in justice recollect, that it is certainly more excusable in a biographer to err on that side, than to be cold and reserved in doing justice to the dead, through the fear of being thought partial, or giving offence to the living. Inducements to partiality, arising from personal favour, however, are certainly in the present instance wholly out of the question. The Writer has been under no temptation to dissemble facts or pervert the truth. Whenever his own sentiments are expressed, they are always the genuine convictions of a mind which scorns to varnish falsehood, or impose upon others what he does not himself believe. He has been solicitous to abstain from all unnecessary censure and angry feeling, from a full persuasion that if the facts now submitted to the judgment of the public, do not themselves produce conviction, no

intemperate warmth on the part of the Writer can give them effect. Assuredly no pains have been spared in investigating evidence, in order to ascertain the truth and establish facts; and the public may rest fully satisfied that the Author has sufficient regard for his own reputation, to secure him from the meanness of sporting with their credulity.

In preparing these pages for the press, the Author would gladly have availed himself of a longer interval, and of more leisure for digesting his materials, than he has been enabled to snatch from the daily avocations of a laborious profession; and, in this respect, he must claim the indulgence of his readers. Various circumstances, however, with which it is unnecessary to trouble the public, have induced him to this early appearance at their tribunal, not doubting that he shall experience the candour which is due to a young author, under circumstances so unfavourable.

He now only detains the Reader, while he expresses his grateful acknowledgments for the kind assistance which it has been his happiness to receive, in preparing his work, from individuals, as distinguished for their rank, as they are eminent for their talents and their public and

private virtues. The information which they have so liberally communicated, has left him little more to do than embody in a succinct narrative what their suggestions supplied, and give form and symmetry to the whole.

To the German friends of the Queen, he is indebted for many interesting particulars, relating to the earlier period of her eventful history. The statements now produced respecting the Investigation of 1807, are not taken from anonymous publications, or unauthenticated documents; but are the result of the biographer's own patient and laborious investigation: and he can, therefore, pledge himself for their general accuracy. And should it hereafter appear that in any particulars he has erred, through inadvertency or incorrect information, the public may depend upon his taking the earliest opportunity, and the speediest means, of apprising them of his error, and rectifying whatever is inaccurate.

The documents which could not be conveniently interwoven in the narrative, but which are necessary to substantiate some of its allegations, are added by way of APPENDIX. Those contained in No. I. relate to the minor charges brought against her Majesty in 1807, and which were

reported by the Commissioners for conducting that Inquiry, to have been not fully answered; they embody her Majesty's defence against those charges. But the documents contained in No. II. are of incalculable moment, and demand the most serious attention from all classes of his Majesty's subjects. They have never before been presented to public notice; and they ought to be carefully perused by all who would form a just estimate of the charges against her Majesty, which constituted the basis of the late Inquiry into her conduct, before the House of Peers. While they cannot fail to excite the surprise of some, they will administer to others corresponding delight.

But the Author hastens to release his Readers from these preliminary observations, which chiefly regard himself, and shall consider himself abundantly recompensed for all his toil and anxiety, if, after the perusal of this work, it should be admitted, that he has succeeded in providing an antidote for the shafts of malevolence, and rescuing from reproach and obloquy, the character of this illustrious female.

*London,*  
*November 30, 1821.*



# MEMOIR.

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## CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE ANCESTORS OF HER MAJESTY, FROM ERNEST THE CONFESSOR, 1497, TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES, DUKE OF WOLFENBUTTE, 1780.—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HER FATHER, CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND, DUKE OF WOLFENBUTTE.—ACCOUNT OF HER MOTHER, PRINCESS AUGUSTA.

**ERNEST**, the Confessor, distinguished for his attachment to the Protestant Religion, was born June 26, 1497. He was the second son of Henry the younger Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, and of Margaret daughter of Ernest, elector of Saxony. He was educated at the university of Wittenburg, where he attended the prelections of Luther. He had two brothers, Otho and Francis, and with the former he reigned over that duchy, from 1521 until 1527. In the latter year, Otho consented to superintend, solely, the government of HARBURG, and to resign his right in favour of Ernest. Francis, who had then attained the age of maturity, now occupied the place of Otho, and together they reigned till the year 1539; when the brothers judged it expedient, yet further, to

divide the duchy. Francis now received GIFFHORN, and resigned the chief government to Ernest, who from that time reigned alone and at Celle. When Henry, his father, was put to the ban of the empire, Otho, as his eldest son, should have succeeded to the government of Lunenburg, but the act of Otho in ceding it to Ernest, was the unanticipated cause of events the most important to the Protestant faith.

In 1521, the celebrated Diet of Worms was convened. The Emperor Charles V. had summoned Luthèr to attend and account for his conduct; Ernest was present, was additionally convinced by his oration, of the truth and purity, not only of the motives and conduct of Luther, but of the reformed religion; and immediately set about the work of introducing it into his dominions. He was the intimate friend and constant companion of the great Elector of Saxony. In the furtherance of that important object he was diligent and zealous. His brother, impressed by his example, and persuaded by his arguments, alike embraced the Protestant Religion, although worldly interest and political advantage would have indicated that the opposite course was that which they should pursue.

In the Diet at Augsburgh his voice had a powerful influence in persuading the Princes to support the cause they had adopted, and to reject the flattering and tempting promises of the Emperor; and in the second mutiny at Smalkalde, he ably

supported the exhortations of Luther, and was amongst the first to propose the league for their mutual defence against all aggressors, and by which the Protestant States of the Empire were formed into one regular body. At his suggestion, they resolved to apply to the Kings of England and France, to implore them to protect the new confederacy. Both these Sovereigns were well disposed to any measure that could weaken the power of their ambitious rival; but Henry was so much engaged in the negotiations for effecting his divorce from his Queen, that he had no leisure for foreign affairs, and all they could obtain was a small supply of money; and Francis having received no provocation, could not violate a treaty of peace which he had himself so lately solicited. Yet, the King of France listened with the greatest eagerness to the complaints of the Protestant Princes, and determined secretly to cherish those sparks of political discord which might be afterwards kindled into a flame. Ernest was also one of the leading members in the negotiations which ended in the pacification that was agreed upon at Nuremberg, in 1531, and ratified by the Diet at Ratisbon; and he accompanied the Elector of Saxony, and Landgrave of Hesse, with a considerable body of troops when they took the field against Henry of Brunswick, and his cousin compelled him to raise the siege of Goslar and afterwards drove him from his dominions. He was one of the first subscribers to the Confession of Augs-

burg, and he protested against the Diets of Ratisbon and Spire.

In 1528, he was married to Sophia, daughter of Henry, Duke of Mecklenburg; by whom he had four sons and six daughters. He lived only to the age of 49, and died on January 11th, 1546; regretted by the good of every political and religious party. He was an able negotiator, a sound politician, and a sincere Christian; and his commanding eloquence could at all times confound the wavering spirit of the Elector of Saxony, or calm the violence of the Landgrave of Hesse, the acknowledged heads of the Protestant League.

The history of the ancestors of Caroline, Queen Consort of George IV. has not been here further retraced, because such history has been ably presented by Dr. Halliday, in his "History of the House of Guelph;" because Ernest is regarded as the common father of all the existing Princes of that House; and because, from him descended, in a direct line, as well her family as that of her husband. In Ernest, the Confessor, they both found the founder of their families.

On the death of Ernest, Francis Otho, his eldest son succeeded to the government of his duchy. The states of Lunenburg, anxious to form a powerful alliance for the Duke, sent a formal embassy to England, to demand the hand of Princess Mary for the young Sovereign. This embassy was favourably received; but, as a treaty was then on foot for the marriage of the Princess with the

Infant of Portugal, their request, could not be acceded to. For what reason, or on what account is not stated, but about this period, Edward VI. granted a pension of £300 sterling to Otho, payable annually.

In the early part of the year 1559, Francis Otho was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg; and on the 29th of April, in the same year, he expired at Celle in the 30th year of his age, leaving no issue.

Frederick, the second son of Ernest the Confessor, having died in 1553, when commanding the troops of Lunenburg, under the Landgrave of Hesse, in the hard fought action of Silverhausen; the government of the duchy, on the death of Francis Otho, devolved on his two surviving brothers, Henry and William. Henry and William resolved on governing the States in conjunction with each other, and they were so governed in their names for several years. This united dominion lasted for about ten years; when Henry preferring a retired life, and the views of his Duchess (the Princess of Saxe-Lunenburg,) harmonizing with his own, a division took place by mutual consent. He accepted the territories of Danneberg and Luchow; and to William was reserved the duchies of Celle and Lunenburg. WILLIAM, Duke of Lunenburg, was the ancestor of George the IV. King of Great Britain, as he founded the line of Lunenburg; and HENRY was the ancestor of Queen Caroline, the subject of these Memoirs,

as he founded the line of Wolfenbüttele. With HENRY and his descendants, therefore, these Memoirs are alone involved.

Henry died in 1596, and was succeeded in the government of the States of Brunswick, by his eldest son Julius Ernest. He left three sons, Julius Ernest, Francis, and Augustus. *Julius Ernest* was the son of Henry and of Ursula, daughter of Francis Duke of Engern and Westphalia. He was born 11th of March, 1571, and was married to Maria, daughter of Ezard, Count of East Friesland, by whom he had a son, who died at two months old, and a daughter; and afterwards was married to Sibylla, the daughter of his uncle William. Julius continued to reign for forty years over the States, and expired on October 26, 1636. On his death, leaving no male issue, and his brother Francis, having been drowned many years previously (1601), when passing the Rhine, his brother AUGUSTUS became the sole inheritor of the dominions. Augustus had succeeded to the states of Brunswick Wolfenbüttele on the death of his cousin Frederick Ulrick, who was the last Prince of that branch; and Augustus was therefore the Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg Danneberg Hitzacker, and Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttele, but the latter title was that which he alone used, and by which he is characterized in history. Augustus was a Prince of extensive learning, great philanthropy, and considerable taste; he established at Hitzacker, a library of the first impor-

tance, and which on the death of his cousin he removed to Wolfenbüttele. That library at present consists of upwards of 120,000 volumes, besides 2,000 select MSS. The MSS. are valuable and interesting; they contain many productions of the first ages of printing, and several treatises written by himself. "His great object seems to have been to improve the German language, and to inculcate a purity and correctness of expression in speaking as well as in writing." Augustus was thrice married: to Clara Maria, daughter of Bogislaus XIII. Duke of Pomerania, Dowager of Segismund Augustus, Duke of Mecklenburg, by whom he had two children, but both were still-born: to Dorothea, daughter of Rudolph prince of Anhalt Zerbst, by whom he had three sons, Henry Augustus, Rodolphus Augustus, and Anthony Ulrick, and two daughters; and to Sophia Elizabeth daughter of John Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg, by whom he had two sons, Ferdinand Albert, and Christian Francis; and one daughter.

On his death, which took place in 1666, Rudolphus Augustus succeeded him at Brunswick, Anthony Ulrick at Wolfenbüttele, and Ferdinand Albert inherited the principality of Bevern. By this division two lines were founded, Wolfenbüttele, and Bevern, but they were subsequently united in Ferdinand Albert.

Rudolphus Augustus was born May 16, 1627, and died, January 26, 1704. He was twice married, first to the daughter of Albert Frederick,

Count of Barby, and afterwards to Madame Rudolphine; but as he left no issue, he was succeeded by his brother Anthony Ulrick, and thus the government of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle was vested in him.

Anthony Ulrick, who was born 4th of October 1633, was a man of considerable literary attainments. "He was a candidate for the Bishoprick of Hallerstadt, but not having been ceded to the elector of Brandenburg, by the peace of Westphalia, he was named a prebend of Strasburg and director of the protestant convents, but the troubles of the times prevented his enjoying either." Anthony Ulrick was married to Elizabeth Juliane daughter of Frederick Duke of Holstein Harburg, and by her had thirteen children. For some time Augustus William succeeded him, in 1711, at Wolfenbuttle; and Louis Rudolphus in the principality of Blankenburg; but the former, although married three times, left no issue, and Louis became a Roman Catholic, and left a family of four daughters.

FERDINAND ALBERT I. who was already Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle *Bevern*, now succeeded to the Dukedoms of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttle. He was born May 22nd, 1636, and died April 25th, 1687: He was married in 1667, to Christina daughter of Frederick Landgrave of Hesse Eschwege, and had by her seven sons and two daughters. Ferdinand Albert was a scholar, a traveller, a warrior, and a gentleman, and his character was held in very general and just estimation; on his

death his two sons, Ferdinand Albert II. and Ernest Ferdinand, again divided the dukedom, Albert retaining Brunswick and Wolfenbuttle, and Ernest the territory of Bevern.

Ferdinand Albert II. who was born in the month of May, 1680, now continued the line of the family; he was married to Anthonetta Amelia of Blankenburgh, and by her had fourteen children. He was a brave general, and a good scholar; yet his domestic virtues were as distinguished as his public character. He died in the month of September, 1735, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles.

Charles Duke of Wolfenbuttle, was born August 1st, 1713, and at the age of twenty-two succeeded to the government of the dukedom. He was at once respected and beloved by his subjects, and the page of martial history is replete with relations of his courage. He was married at the age of twenty-five to Phillipine Charlotte, Princess of Prussia, who was the sister of Frederick II. She lived to the advanced age of eighty-five. "Her coffin," says Dr. Halliday, "is of wood covered with velvet; the fringes have been stolen. This coffin was likewise opened, and a gorget of Brussels lace taken away. Ten years after her death her features were still recognized. Close to the coffin, in a niche, is an urn of marble, and on a ring which encloses it, are engraved the following words; *La grace de Dieu me suive dans l'éternité*. It is not known what this urn contains; but it was shut in the presence of the deceased,

and by her direction, put on the coffin after her death." By her Charles had twelve children, but only five of them survived him. These were Maximilian Julius Leopold, Augusta Dorethea of Gandersheim, Charles George Augustus, Frederick William, and DUKE CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND, the father of Caroline, Queen of England. Charles Duke of Wolfenbuttle died in the year 1780, and Duke Charles became the sovereign of his patrimonial territories.

The history of the family of her late Majesty has been thus deduced from Ernest the Confessor, and it is now only necessary to present a biographical sketch of her father, in order to complete that history. The life of Duke Charles is memorable and important, and deserves the consideration of those who are anxious to form a correct estimate of the early associations of Queen Caroline, and the peculiar nature of her education. The preceding detail has been necessarily tedious, but as in no work accessible to general readers, has the history been presented, it was regarded as particularly important that here it should be accurately related.

CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND was born at Wolfenbuttle, on the the 9th of October, 1735. In the seventh year of his age, he was placed under the guidance of his tutor, the Court Chaplain, Jerusalem. His studies were chiefly devoted to history, mathematics, the art of war, and the acquisition of foreign languages. He however, possessed considerable taste for the fine arts, and particularly for music, of which he was passion-

ately fond, and in the practice of which he experienced great pleasure, being himself a skilful performer on the violin. But in the study of history, he pre-eminently delighted. The warlike achievements of the heroes of antiquity powerfully excited his admiration; and he frequently mentioned the peculiar interest which he felt, when reading the account of the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks under Xenophon. He also perused with indefatigable attention, the memoirs of celebrated French generals, such as Turenne, Condé, and Villars; and he never failed to note down such passages as appeared to him to afford any novel or useful information relative to military tactics.

In his earliest childhood, the young Prince manifested an ardent desire for the attainment of military glory, and a wish to be distinguished in the annals of fame. On attaining his twentieth year, the commencement of the seven years war in Germany, afforded him an opportunity for the display of his courage, and the development of military talents; and his bravery and knowledge were frequently applauded by his celebrated uncle, Frederick II. The Prince first distinguished himself, as a soldier, at the battle of Hastenbeck, on the 26th of July 1757, when in conjunction with the brave Colonel Max von Breitenback, he stormed a battery which had been taken by the French; this measure would in all probability, have secured the victory, had not the anxiety of the Duke of Cumberland, induced him to venture a new attack.

After the Conventions of Kloster-Zeven, it was proposed, that the Prince should travel through Holland; but his uncle, Duke Ferdinand, to whom Frederick II. had entrusted the command of the allied forces, took him in his suite from Hamburg to Stade, and the Prince joyfully re-entered the military service. He commenced his new career with the hazardous but successful attack of Hoya, on the 23rd of February, 1758. In the sanguinary engagement, near Erefelt, on the 23rd of June following, the Prince, with the allied infantry under his command, destroyed fifteen battalions of French infantry, under Count Saint-Germain, put the French Gensdarmes to flight, and thus decided the engagement. On this occasion, the young Prince proved that he was no less distinguished for his humanity than courage; for in his arms expired the brave Count Gisors, who had been mortally wounded, while commanding the French Carabineers, and to whom he displayed the greatest kindness.

The Prince now proceeded onwards in the direction of Brussels, and in his way took Ruremonde and Dusseldorf. Soon after, Duke Ferdinand, being closely pressed by the skilful General Contades, the Prince covered the retreat of the main army, drove the French from Wachtendonk, regained possession of Ruremonde, and afforded the main army time, without the loss of a single piece of artillery, to recross the Rhine on the 4th of August.

In the campaign of 1759, the Prince commenced

ed operations with the advanced-guard so successfully, that the Imperial troops were defeated in several engagements; in Meiningen and Wasungen, a whole regiment of cuirassiers, together with three battalions of infantry were made prisoners, and the district was so completely cleared of the enemy, that Ferdinand was enabled to advance to Frankfort with the main body of the army.

While Ferdinand, with the view of turning the fortune of war still more decidedly against Conrades and Broglio, was making preparations for a general battle, the Prince was sent, with a detached corps to threaten one of the enemy's magazines, near Herford; and on the very day on which Ferdinand won the great battle of Minden, the Prince, with 10,000 men, gained a decided victory near Gohfeld, over the French General Brissac.

In the mean time, the Duke of Wirtemberg with 12,000 men under his command, appeared in the field, and Broglio directed him, to cut off Ferdinand's junction with Cassel. The young Prince with eight battalions and twelve squadrons, was now sent to meet this new enemy. He attacked him at Fulda, surprised the Duke and most of his officers at a ball, cut to pieces a great portion of his infantry, and made 1,200 prisoners. Immediately on the execution of this master-stroke, the Prince marched with thirteen battalions and nineteen squadrons, to SAXONY, to support his uncle, Frederick the Great, whose

force had been considerably reduced, by the loss of the battle of Kunnersdorf; and having faithfully discharged this commission, he returned to Westphalia, on the 1st of February 1760.

In the campaign of 1760, which was opened by Broglio and St. Germain, with 130,000 men, the Prince, on the 10th of July, experienced the first change in the fortune of war. St. Germain had formed an union with Broglio, at Korbach, and as the Prince of Brunswick, with his usual impetuosity, advanced from Sachsenhauser into the plain of Korbach, he was severely pressed by an overwhelming force, which threw the English infantry into the utmost confusion. The Prince, however, who had already received a wound, vigorously maintained the attack, until his uncle Ferdinand, with the main army, came up to his assistance. In this inconsiderate engagement, fifteen pieces of cannon, and 800 men were lost; but the young hero speedily repaired his mischance.

While the French Marshal Broglio, was endeavouring to execute his plan against Hanover, Ferdinand learned that Wesel was but feebly garrisoned; accordingly, on the 22nd of September, he dispatched his nephew, with 15,000 men from Warburgh, with orders to take the fortress as speedily as possible. The Prince drew out the garrison troops from Lippstadt and Munster, crossed the Rhine on the 30th of September, took possession of the town of Cleves, left his light troops to combat in the Netherlands, and besieged

Wesel. Marshal de Castries, with thirty battalions, and an equal number of squadrons, immediately marched to oppose him, and on the 15th of October, stationed himself behind the canal of Rheinbergen, near Kloster Kampen. The Prince had determined to attack the enemy in the night; but the heroic courage of the Chevalier d' Assas, who commanded a French piquet, in the forest of Rungenbrock, and who, like a second Codrus, devotedly sacrificed himself, and rendered the whole plan abortive. The French thus gained time, and successfully repelled the attack; to add to the misfortune, the bridge which had been thrown across the Rhine, was carried away by the violence of the current; the Prince was wounded, and the troops were short of ammunition. The wounded Commander, however, kept the superior force of the enemy in check, for the space of three days; when he restored the bridge across the Rhine, and on the 18th of October, recrossed the river, without material loss. He now remained for a short time in Westphalia, to observe the movements of Castries, and to oppose his attacks on Lippstadt and Münster.

In the campaign of 1761, Ferdinand's first design was to attack the French position; and in fulfilment of this purpose, four columns were set in motion in the middle of February. The column commanded by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick arrived on the 12th of February before Franzlar; but, for want of heavy artillery, could not force the garrison to surrender until the 15th.

This delay frustrated the plan of a general attack ; Broglio advanced to oppose the hereditary Prince, and the latter had not a sufficient force to hazard a battle. He returned to join the main army, and after an unsuccessful engagement with Stainville's corps, he was, on the 21st of March attacked by the French on the other side of the Ohm. The consequences of this attack were most disastrous ; the Count Von Buckeburg was forced to raise the siege of Cassel, and the French remained masters of Hesse. The battle of Wellinghauzen, however, in some measure restored affairs in favour of the allies, and Broglio's design on Brunswick was frustrated by the skilful measures of Ferdinand, which were ably executed by Prince Frederick of Brunswick, and General Luckner. On the 15th of October, the hereditary Prince himself, entered Brunswick, and was received with general enthusiasm.

The first achievement of the hereditary Prince in the campaign of 1762, was the bombardment and demolition of the Castle of Areasberg, in the dukedom of Westphalia, by which the junction of the Prince de Condé's corps, with the main army, was obstructed, and Ferdinand's march to the Dunel was facilitated. During the spring months, the Prince was incessantly engaged in contests with Condé's corps. The last unsuccessful action took place at Johannisberge, on the 31st of July. Luckner had become engaged with the corps of Condé and Stainville ; and the hereditary Prince immediately ordered his troops to ascend the hill

to re-inforce Luckner; but the French force, which was infinitely superior in numbers, attacked the Brunswick troops with such vigour, that the latter were driven down the hill in complete disorder, and the infantry were only saved by a few detached squadrons of Luckner's force. The hereditary Prince, who had alighted from his horse, to rally his disordered troops, was dangerously wounded by a musket ball, and carried from the field of battle. Peace was now proclaimed, on the 14th of February, and Frederiek II. Ferdinand, Henry, and Charles William Ferdinand, were regarded as the first heroes of the age.

In the year 1764, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick married the Princess Augusta of Great Britain, sister of George III. the mother of Queen Caroline, and with her he received a considerable dowry. In 1765, and the two following years, the Prince accompanied by his Consort, travelled through England, Holland, France and Italy; and in every country he was received with that respect and admiration which his virtues and talents could not fail to command. This journey was not undertaken with any diplomatic view, but merely for the sake of amusement and information.

In the early part of the year 1766, they left England and visited Paris, where the Prince was received, by all ranks, with the most flattering testimonies of esteem. He appeared, not like an ordinary German Prince, visiting Paris to acquire the polish of refined society; he was, on the contrary, a man of gay and elegant manners:

speaking the French language with fluency, and was intimately acquainted with the best productions of French literature: Louis XVI. together with all the French Princes and Nobles, received him with expressions of regard and admiration, which amounted almost to enthusiasm. The Princes of Condé, Conti, and the Duke of Orleans, in particular, vied with each other in displaying to the hero of the seven years war, the splendors and curiosities of their magnificent palaces.

At the brilliant court of Louis XVI. the Duke of Brunswick was regarded as a sort of phenomenon among German Princes. His intercourse with the literati of Paris, was not confined to transitory and ceremonial writings; he lived among them, attended their social meetings, and readily accepted their invitations. On one occasion, the celebrated Helvetius gave the Duke a Socratic dinner. All the most distinguished literary characters in Paris were invited, and the entertainment was so gay and intellectual, that the Prince was frequently heard to declare "he had never enjoyed a more interesting dinner." The silent and modest Marmontel sat near the Prince, and amidst the spirited flow of conversation had been scarcely observed, until he attracted the attention of the whole company by an observation highly flattering to the Prince. Helvetius remarked, "that there was a strong personal resemblance between the Prince of Brunswick and the English Pretender." The Prince

replied, that he had frequently heard the same observation made by individuals who were personally acquainted with the Pretender ;—upon which, Marmontel immediately said, that “ with some further traits of resemblance, Prince Edward would have been King of England.” The delicacy and elegance of the compliment was felt and applauded by all present.

Another anecdote, relative to the Prince of Brunswick, and the author of *Belisarius* deserves to be recorded. The Prince, with his Consort, visited Aix-la-Chapelle for the benefit of the waters. Marmontel was one morning passing by an hotel, when he heard his name mentioned by a person at one of the windows. Marmontel looked up and saw a foreign gentleman who exclaimed, “ Yes it is he,” and instantly retired from the window. Marmontel did not recognize the stranger, and therefore passed on. In a few minutes, however, he heard some one running to overtake him, and turning round he beheld the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. “ What a happy meeting !” exclaimed the Prince, cordially embracing him :—“ but pray return with me to our hotel,” he continued, “ I must have the happiness of introducing you to my wife.” On arriving at the hotel, he presented Marmontel to the Princess in the most friendly manner :—“ You have,” said he, addressing himself to his Consort, “ frequently expressed a wish to become acquainted with the author of *Belisarius* and the *Contes moraux* ;—your wish is at length gratified,—here he is !”

The Princess received the French Philosopher with the most affable condescension. At that moment the Magistrate of the town entered, and requested the honour of shewing the Prince and Princess, the source of the sulphur springs, a curiosity which, at that time, none but foreigners of high rank were permitted to see. The Prince, however, requested that his Consort would go alone to visit the springs, and leave him to enjoy an hour in Marmontel's company. In the course of conversation the Prince spoke with enthusiasm of the Parisian literati, and of the many delightful hours he had spent in their society. "I regret," said he, "the impossibility of transplanting some of your distinguished men from France to Germany; but, unfortunately, no German Prince is rich enough to compensate them adequately, for the loss they would sustain by the removal."

On passing through Geneva, the Prince paid a visit to Voltaire, at Ferney. Voltaire received his distinguished guest with the utmost cordiality. The conversation turned on Frederick the Great, whose communications with the French Poet are too well known to require repetition. Voltaire returned the visit of the Prince on the very same day.

At Rome the celebrated Abbé Winkelmann was the daily companion of the Prince of Brunswick. Conducted by that eminent connoisseur, the Prince visited all the wonders of ancient and modern Rome. Every morning at an appointed hour, Winkelmann visited the Prince, and the

latter accompanied the antiquarian in his interesting investigations. Their excursions usually lasted till the afternoon, when Winkelmann returned and dined with the Prince. Their conversation almost always turned on works of art, and monuments of antiquity, in his descriptions of which Winkelmann would enter into the most interesting details.

By these travels the information of the Prince was greatly increased, and he was better prepared to fulfil the duties of a sovereign, which subsequently devolved on him. Shortly after his return to Brunswick, and on May 17, 1768, his daughter CAROLINE was born, to whom he was ever peculiarly attached, and who in return for his parental kindness and anxiety, habitually developed the most sincere affection and devoted regard. Of her father she always spoke with enthusiasm, and his will was generally her law.

In 1773, family considerations induced the Prince to enter the Prussian service, and he was appointed General of Infantry, and Commander of the Garrison of Halberstadt.

In the short war relative to the Bavarian succession the hereditary Prince, acting only in a subordinate character, had no opportunity afforded him for the display of his military skill and courage. On the death of his father, which took place in the year 1780, he became the sovereign of his patrimonial territories. The affairs of the government of Brunswick were then in a very unfavourable condition. The debt amounted to

upwards of six millions of dollars; the states were at once unable and unwilling to render assistance; and the public creditors manifested the utmost impatience. *The Duke resolved to adopt a system of rigid economy, as the only means of extricating himself from difficulty.*

To counterbalance, as far as possible, the effect produced on trade, by the limited state of his finances, the Duke endeavoured to induce wealthy noblemen to enter his service, and to reside at his court, that their incomes might be expended in Brunswick. In addition to such means the encouragements which the Duke himself held out to agriculture, trade, and the establishment of new manufactures, produced a most desirable effect. Public education was also an object, for the promotion of which, he manifested the utmost anxiety, and a plan for the improvement of the national Universities, and its transfer from Helmstadt to Brunswick, was speedily adopted. Several public buildings were likewise constructed with the view of beautifying the capital, and the Duke at his own private expence, established the Italian opera, which tended materially to improve the national taste for music. In fine, his life was a scene of uninterrupted activity, and the rapid improvement of his states, was the reward of his indefatigable exertions.

The French Revolution now commenced, and the imbecile Louis XVI. tendered the command of the French forces to the Duke of Brunswick. The Duke, however, courteously declined the of-

fer; but he accepted the command of the Austro-Prussian army. Contrary to his own wishes, and probably misled by the false representations of the emigrants, he unfortunately issued from Coblenz the notorious manifesto against France. This was an act of egregious folly, the idea of which originated solely with the emigrant French priests. The consequence was, precisely what had been apprehended by all unprejudiced judges of the events of the times; for the unlucky manifesto served only to irritate and rouse the French people to the most determined resistance.

In the month of August, the collected forces of Germany advanced to Lothringen. The Duke marched with the main body of the army from Tries; on the 23rd of August he took the celebrated fortress of Longwy, and on the 2nd of September he gained possession of Verdun. But in his march through Champagne, the most serious reverses awaited him. Dumouriez was encamped at St. Menehould, and constantly avoided an action, because he foresaw that sickness and privation would speedily compel the German troops to retreat. In the mean time, the Duke endeavoured to compel Dumouriez to come to an engagement, and on the 20th of September he attacked Kellermann's corps at Valmy. Dumouriez, however, came up to the support of his colleague, and the latter was, in consequence, enabled to maintain his position. Two days afterwards the Duke was under the necessity of concluding an armistice, and at the end of a week he com-

menced his retreat from Champagne. Mentz had now fallen into the hands of Custine. Had Custine immediately repaired to Coblenz, and taken possession of the Prussian magazine, instead of suffering his troops to march in disorder from place to place, the consequences would certainly have been far more fatal to the allies, but now the Prussian and Hessian troops recrossed the Rhine, and reached Coblenz without molestation.

The next object of the Duke was to make preparations for taking the French garrison of Landau, the preliminary step to which must necessarily have been to carry the Weissenburg lines. On the 14th of September, however, the French for the relief of Landau, had made a general attack from Strasburg to Saarbruck, on the forces of General Wurmser and the Duke, and the latter fought with Moreau, that sanguinary battle at Pirmasen, the result of which was, that the French were driven from their position at Hornback, and forced to retire to the Saar. A month after, the Duke, conjointly with Wurmser, actually forced the celebrated lines; but the storming of the strong fortress of Bitch, which took place on the night of the 16th of November, entirely failed. The Duke had, indeed, utterly defeated at Kaiserslautern, the army of the Moselle, under General Hoche, which had been drawn out from the mountains, to relieve Landau; but the incessant attacks daily made by Hoche and Pichegru, without regard to the losses they sustained, and by which they ultimately succeeded in breaking the

Austrian lines on the Motter, obliged the Austrians to retreat across the Rhine:—an event which likewise occasioned the return of the Duke.

Disturbed with the intrigues and cabals, by which all his excellent plans had been frustrated, the Duke resigned the Austrian command, and on the 6th of February, 1794, returned to his capital, where, for several years, he devoted his attention to the welfare and improvement of his subjects.

That he should have been again induced to neglect those duties, and to appear in the field of battle, must ever be regretted. He now retained only the shadow of his youthful ardour, and he was evidently entering upon a duty which he had not strength to fulfil, when he placed himself at the head of the Prussian forces, to fight for the honour and independence of Germany. The battle of Jena, decided his, and his country's fate. He was wounded in the face, by a musket ball, which deprived him of sight, and he expired at the village of Ottensen, near Altona, on the 10th of November, 1806.

The Duke bore his last painful illness, with the most heroic fortitude. His attendants never heard him utter a complaint, and scarcely the slightest expression of pain escaped him; courage and fortitude were indeed the most striking features of his character, and they peculiarly evinced themselves, in suffering and adversity. To the latest moment of his existence, he took great delight in conversing on the affairs of the times, and it afforded him the utmost joy and consolation,

to learn, that "the Conqueror had spared his country."

In person, the Duke of Brunswick was strong and well made, and even at an advanced period of life, he was remarkably upright, both in walking and riding. His manners were dignified and graceful, and exhibited none of the coldness and constraint, which are the usual concomitants of exalted rank. He possessed extraordinary activity of body, and even in his seventy-second year, ascended the stairs with the swiftness and agility of youth, to his apartments on the third story of the palace. After the example of his uncle, Frederick the Great, he accustomed himself during the seven years war, to all the difficulties and privations, to which a military life can possibly be exposed. He slept for many nights together on the ground, with no other covering than his mantle; and he subsisted on the hard fare of the common soldiers. During the unfortunate retreat of the Austrian army, in 1794, one of the Duke's officers wrote to a friend, as follows: "It is scarcely possible to give you an idea of the fatigues and privations, to which our Duke has lately been exposed. For the space of a fortnight, he never either undressed or shaved himself. He was on horseback day and night, in the most unfavourable weather; and was three times in imminent danger of being made prisoner by the French Chasseurs.—He endured all these hardships without a murmur!"

All the early portraits of the Duke, represent

him as having been an extremely handsome man in his youth, and even in advanced life, an expression of intelligence and vivacity which never for a moment forsook him, gave singular interest to his countenance. His eye was lively and penetrating, so much so, that timid persons were often afraid to encounter his gaze. His ear was singularly quick and delicate. He was a stranger to the luxuries of the table, and at dinner, seldom exceeded a single glass of wine. His temperance and activity doubtless contributed, in a great degree, to the preservation of that sound health and bodily vigour which he retained to the moment when he received the fatal wound which terminated his life. His remains were originally deposited at Ottensen, but they have been lately brought to Brunswick, and deposited in the ducal vault of his ancestors.

This was the public character and history of the father of Caroline, Queen of England. His domestic and parental virtues will be subsequently referred to in connection with the education and early life of his daughter.

The mother of Queen Caroline has been previously mentioned. She was the daughter of Frederick Lewis, the Prince of Wales, and of Augusta, Princess of Saxe Gotha, daughter of Frederick II. The Princess Augusta of Great Britain, possessed some personal charms, and considerable mental endowments. The peculiar traits in her character were prudence and virtue. Her mind was strong and vigorous—yet she was passionately fond of no-

velty, and her "gossiping parties" were frequent and amusing. The ladies of her Court were acquainted with this failing, and indulged her by relations as dull as they were untrue. "What is the news?" was her constant enquiry, and whoever had most to communicate received the greatest share of attention. This appears to have been a family failing, and in some branches has been productive of evils which the wise and virtuous must ever deplore. On the education of her family, however, she bestowed much of time and attention; and her extensive knowledge and excellent temper, rendered her eminently qualified to perform the duties of a mother. Though her family was large, and her pursuits numerous and important, she nevertheless spent some portion of every day in reading; and of the English literature of the day, she continued, even after her marriage, to preserve an intimate knowledge.

The Princess Augusta was a friend to liberal principles, and cultivated in the breasts of her children, a love of liberty. In religion, she was herself a Lutheran; but she held it to be an imperative duty of every government, to tolerate all sects and parties, and even thought it improper to educate her children in any particular faith, lest she should be the means of giving an improper bias to their choice, which she considered should be perfectly free. It has been improperly stated, that the sole cause of this conduct on the part of the Duchess, originated in personal feelings of indifference as to matters of religion, and in a

desire that the religious tenets of her children should never prevent their connection in future life, with any distinguished Court of whatever religion. The propriety of her conduct may, indeed, be questionable, since it is generally maintained by the wise and good, that a child had better be educated in an attachment even to an erroneous faith, than to no faith at all; yet the motives of the Duchess were of the purest character, even though they partook of weakness and false reasoning. She was greatly beloved by her children, and respected by her dependants; and of her virtue, amiability, and good sense, those who were best acquainted with her character, invariably spoke in terms the most ardent and sincere.

## CHAPTER II.

PARTICULARS OF THE EARLY LIFE OF THE PRINCESS  
CAROLINE AMELIA ELIZABETH OF BRUNSWICK, INCLUDING  
AN ACCOUNT OF HER MARRIAGE TO HIS ROYAL  
HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES: 1768—1795.

The Princess Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, was the second daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick. It will be recollected, however, that at the time of her birth, her father was hereditary Prince, and that it was not till 1780, that he succeeded to the government of the Duchy. The Princess Caroline was born at Brunswick, which was at that time the residence of the Wolfenbuttle line of the Royal family. She was the favorite child of her father, and for her health and happiness, he manifested especial concern. From infancy her constitution was strong and vigorous, and her health was seldom interrupted; the Duchess frequently said, "Caroline is born for adversity, nothing would destroy her." Her mother had received a good education, and the knowledge she had acquired, she retained. Her father was a scholar, at the same time that he was a warrior, and a politician. When his military duties allowed his residence at home, he devoted much time to the education of his children; and Caroline enjoyed

an unusual share of his attention. In future life, she always spoke of his kindness with enthusiasm, and related many incidents of his conduct to her, with delight. Some months previous to her decease, a poor woman attended on the subject of these Memoirs, then Queen of England, with a portrait of the Duke, which, on perceiving, her Majesty immediately purchased with delight, placed it in her bed room, and was frequently observed to gaze on it with the greatest interest, to the time of her death.


Whilst, however, her parents assisted in the education of their children, they did not wholly conduct it. She had in her youth, successively different ladies as Governesses and Companions. The first to whose care she was entrusted, was Lady de Bode, who was at that time rather advanced in years, but who was endowed with an intelligent and well disposed mind; and her tuition had a very beneficial effect upon the young Princess, by whom she was sincerely beloved. When age and infirmities compelled that lady to resign her office, she was almost every week honoured by visits from the Princess; who, on these occasions, in the midst of a small select circle, seemed to find her greatest pleasure. A customary amusement in company at that period, was to propose charades.—The Princess from her acute mind and wit, possessed an extraordinary facility, not only in unriddling, but also in framing them. In this circle also, she found opportunities for gratifying her predilection for domestic

pleasures, and relaxation from the Court mode of life, which to her, was so tedious and disagreeable.

After the resignation of Lady de Bode, Baroness von Munster, the mother of the present Count Munster, Royal Hanoverian Minister of State, and of the Cabinet, was appointed in her place. This lady possessed uncommon powers of mind, and extensive knowledge;—she contributed greatly to the formation of the character of the Princess.

Her last Companion was Lady von Ditzfurth, a widow, a woman of a most excellent heart, with whom the Princess was on friendly terms, and who usually accompanied her in her visits to her first Governess, Lady de Bode, who was Lady Ditzfurth's aunt.

Yet to the care of these Ladies, she was not wholly confided, she spent much of her time with her parents; she always dined at the table of her father, even when very young, and was introduced into all the society of the Court. The German, English, French, and Italian languages, she spoke with fluency, and even elegance. She was mistress of the harp, and harpsichord, with which she often delighted her father, who was enthusiastically fond of music. In the art of painting in water colours, she excelled, and modelled with elegance and taste; many of her paintings in water colours, are now in the possession of her distinguished friends; and whilst residing afterwards at Blackheath, she modelled a full length statue of her daughter. She was particularly partial to



geography and astronomy, and to the study of logic, but HISTORY claimed her pre-eminent attention, and she was consequently distinguished in future life, by her accurate knowledge of Grecian, Roman, French, English, and German history. Assisted by a good natural and well cultivated memory, her conversation on historical subjects, was distinguished by an accuracy of detail, and an appropriateness of application, which often astonished, and always pleased, her literary friends.

When young, her wit excited attention, and afforded amusement. Her brothers and sister in this respect, acknowledged their inferiority, and Caroline, habitually sprightly and ready, not unfrequently pleased the German Court. On one occasion, when she was about twelve years of age, her father requested the famous Mirabeau, to make some lines, upon time and space, Caroline was present, and instantly exclaimed, "*L' espace se trouve dans le bouche de Madame ——— et le temps dans sa visage ;*" applying it to an old very ugly lady of the Court. Her father publicly reproved her, and desired her to make an apology; she refused to do so, and he sent her out of the room. On another occasion, when reproached by a phlegmatic Courtier, for the gaiety of her manners, and her heedlessness as to the future, she exclaimed, in German: "*Gone is gone, Sir; that which is gone, will never return,—and that which is to come, will come of itself.*"

One day, in repeating to Lady de Bode the

answers to the questions contained in a German work on natural history, she was asked, "In what country is the lion found?" and she immediately replied, "In the heart of a Brunswicker." Her cheerfulness and vivacity, were only equalled by her ardour and courage. No difficulties which presented themselves would impede her progress, in any favourite project. She never considered any thing as invincible, and the impetuosity of her disposition, frequently stimulated her to acts as singular, as they were sometimes objectionable.

One day, when about to mount a horse in the favourite game of the Carousel, she was advised to desist from her project, as the motion might render her giddy; but to the remonstrances of her attendants, she replied in German, "A Brunswicker dare do any thing. Fear is a word of which a Brunswicker is ignorant." The faults of her youth were those of her maturer years. She would be independent, as well of rules, as of circumstances, and the conduct or opinions of others, were not, by her, sufficiently regarded. On every topic, however comparatively unimportant which presented itself to her attention, she claimed the privilege of forming her own opinion, and it was often said by her, "that a person who does not form an opinion of his own, but suffers himself to be guided by that of others, is like a piece of barren ground which will not bear a single blade of grass." When but a child, her mind adopted this maxim, and the opinions of her Tutors, she therefore received only to investigate them. "And pray

Madam," she enquired one day of Lady de Bode, "Can you tell me, why you are wicked?" "Because an evil spirit impels me to do that which is wrong," was the reply. "But why do you suffer yourself to be impelled?" rejoined the Princess. "Because I cannot overcome my bad nature." "Oh you cannot," exclaimed Caroline, "well, then if you cannot, you are only like a piece of clay, and so Madam, I do not think it is very wicked in you, merely to be moulded." The Governess attempted an explanation, but it was to no purpose; and the Princess walked away, exclaiming, in German, "We are all very bad, very bad, but were so created."

Of the character of her mother some further observations should be here introduced. Her distinguished virtues, her goodness of heart, her kind and humane concern for the welfare, and her participation in the sufferings of others; her great benevolence and charity towards those in need; her condescension to her inferiors, her incorruptible love of justice and truth, and her sincere piety procured for her the love and veneration of her friends and subjects; and these virtues, she studied by conversation and example, to impress on the mind of her beloved daughter. Her character is held in the highest estimation in Germany, and is never mentioned, by those who were more intimately acquainted with her but with gratitude and esteem.

The Princess, in her early years, frequently developed a kind and generous disposition. She

and her youngest brother, afterwards Duke Frederick William, (who gloriously died the death of a hero, at the battle of Quatre Bras, on the 16th, June, 1815,) particularly distinguished themselves amongst their brothers and sisters. She possessed the spirit of her father, and the feeling heart of her mother. To an understanding clear and quick, in possessing itself of every truth, she united an unlimited thirst after knowledge extending far beyond the usual capacities of her sex, which was combined with an industry, the most indefatigable. Mr. Schulz, Counsellor of the Consistory, and Chaplain to the Court, who is still living, was carefully selected as her Tutor, and he endeavoured in the most effectual manner, to cultivate the fine abilities of his distinguished pupil. He not only instructed her in religion and morality, but in all the graver and liberal sciences, which she strenuously endeavoured to acquire. His object was not only to enrich her memory with a store of various sciences, and thus to give food to her studious and acute mind; but also, to direct that mind to truth, and what is noble and beautiful, and to refine her taste. This course of instruction did not terminate with the confirmation of the Princess, which her good Tutor performed, but was continued for several years afterwards. She particularly read with him and under his guidance, the *chef d'ouvres* of German and foreign literature, and he also directed her attention to the study of the sciences.

The same care was bestowed upon the for-

mation of her character, as was used for her intellectual accomplishments. By the religious knowledge communicated to her in which her understanding and her heart equally participated, an enlightened and sincere piety was impressed on her mind, and the doctrines of morality being clearly understood by her, gave existence to a lively sense of duty. And it was only through the uncommon vivacity of her disposition that an equal application of rigorous moral doctrines to her exterior deportment was rendered difficult to her, and for that reason, in early life, and still more so afterwards, she was often misconceived and condemned, for her want of circumspection, and neglect of exterior deportment. Her character when she was young, was nevertheless good, and under more favourable circumstances, would have shewn itself in a brighter light, than was the case in the difficult situation in which she was placed. In her, sincerity and love of impartial justice; an unlimited regard for her fellow creatures; affability and kindness; and patience and magnanimity, were unquestionably predominant.

Some few peculiarities in her mode of thinking which to reflecting and judicious minds, redounded to her honour, but which others did not hesitate to censure, deserve to be particularly noticed. The Princess was no friend to stiff court etiquette. And although it must be admitted, that the Court of the wise and philanthropic Duke Charles William Ferdinand, partook not of the factitious stipulated manners of Courts in general, or of that excessive

distinction between degrees and ranks, which also there generally prevails, yet still a certain restraint existed, particularly at that period, at every Court, with respect to the observance of rules, once introduced, which ill accorded with that love of independence, which the Princess always cherished. To the distinction of rank, as rank, she never paid the least regard. People of sense and education were noticed by her, whatever might be their situation. She therefore, as far as she was permitted, sought for society amongst the more refined class of citizens, and found greater pleasure in conversation with learned men and persons of genius, than in the formal Court circles. Her external deportment in company, was in consequence condescending, obliging and kind, free from stiffness and from that proud politeness, often peculiar to exalted rank. Towards her princely parents and relatives, she was respectful, but without any sort of constraint in her manners; her heart demanded, and was as ready to return love and confidence. Upon external splendour; upon elegant apartments and furniture; upon artificial personal finery, she put no value. Her wish was to please by mind and heart only, and although, certainly, not indifferent to admiration bestowed upon her person, she, nevertheless, did not regard this so highly as that estimation in which she was held for her mental and moral qualities.

On the character of the women of Germany, some observations now appear to be important and necessary: nor can that character be more

accurately delineated, or presented in language more inviting and elegant, than in that given by the celebrated Madame de Staël, in her Work on "Germany."\*

"The German women," says that incomparable writer, "have a peculiar and exclusive charm :— a touching voice, fair hair, a brilliant complexion; they are modest, but less timid than the English; it is evident that they rarely meet with their superiors among men, and that they have less to fear from the severe criticism of the public. They seek to please by sensibility, to interest by imagination; the language of poetry and the fine arts is familiar to them; they are enthusiastic in their coquetry, which in France they do with wit and pleasantry. The perfect fidelity which distinguishes the German character renders love less dangerous to the happiness of the women; and perhaps they encourage this sentiment with greater confidence, because it is invested in romantic colours; and disdain and infidelity are *there* to be but little dreaded."

"Love is religion in Germany; but a poetical religion, which too willingly tolerates every thing which sensibility can excuse."

"It cannot be denied that the facility of divorce in the Protestant States, is prejudicial to the sanctity of marriage. They *there* as easily change their husbands, as if he merely served to fill up the incidents of a drama. The good na-

\* Tome premier, page 37.

ture, common both to men and women, is the reason that so little bitterness of spirit ever accompanies these easy ruptures; and as there is among the Germans, more of imagination than of real passion, the most extravagant events are there passed over with singular tranquillity; nevertheless, it is thus, that character and manners lose every thing like consistency; the spirit of paradox shakes the most sacred institutions, and we perceive that they have no fixed rules on any subject."

"One may fairly laugh at the ridiculous airs of German women, who with the greatest affectation incessantly extol themselves; and, who sacrifice to their pretty softnesses of expression, all that is marked and striking in mind and character; they are not open, even though they are not false; they neither see nor judge with accuracy, and real events pass before their eyes like a phantasmagoria. When one expects to see them light and facetious, they still retain a tincture of that sentimentality which is by them esteemed honourable. A German woman said one day, with a melancholy expression, 'I know not wherefore, but absent persons pass away from my soul.' A French woman would have expressed the idea with more gaiety: but the sentiment would have been the same."

"Notwithstanding these impertinencies which form only the exception, there are many women among the Germans, numbers whose sentiments are true, and whose manners are simple. Their careful education, and the purity of soul which is

natural to them, render the empire which they maintain soft and equal; they, every day, inspire you with more interest, for all that is great and generous, with more of confidence in all noble hopes, and they know how to repel that bitter irony which blows like a wind of death over all the enjoyments of the heart. Still we rarely find among them, that quickness of apprehension which animates conversation and calls into exercise all the powers of the mind; this kind of pleasure is rarely to be found but in the spirited and witty societies of Paris."

These are the leading characteristics of the German women, and in estimating the subsequent conduct of the subject of these Memoirs, when Princess of Wales and Queen of England, such observations should not be forgotten. There is a *nationality* in the English character which is peculiar, and which in the extravagance of its many requisitions demands, that a foreigner, as soon as he becomes a resident in this country, should conform himself to her habits and customs, without regard to his previous education; and even ventures to censure all who do not so act with epithets as ungracious as they are unjust. For want of attention to this simple fact, that every nation has its peculiar manners and associations; and that in one country some act of politeness would be regarded as no breach either of delicacy, of honour, or of confidence; which in the estimation of the inhabitants of some other nations, would be deemed a violation of feminine retirement, modesty, and decorum; biographers and historians have fallen

into innumerable mistakes, and animadversions have been made which were uncalled for, because undeserved.

If, in addition to an attention to these observations, and especially to the remarks of Madame De Staël, the state of the German Court be regarded, the intelligent reader will be additionally prepared to form a correct estimate of the character and education of the Princess of Brunswick. The Court of the Duke of Brunswick cannot justly be said to have been licentious, but yet it was gay. Love was, unquestionably, the ruling passion; and that love was ardent and daring, but it was not profligate or vicious. It has indeed been said, that the Princess was educated in vice: nothing can be more untrue. The great variety of characters which composed the Court of the Duke of Brunswick, and of the visitors who were constantly entertained by his munificent and generous spirit, necessarily entailed those evils which are attendant on promiscuous friendship. Thus the old veteran and the young warrior, the courtier and the politician, the man of loose or of dignified conduct there associated, and the Princess was introduced into the society of all. At the age of seventeen, her heart became impressed with the sentiments of love. To a German Prince, who was an officer of distinguished merit and reputation she became attached, and that attachment was mutually received. For him she unquestionably cherished an affection the most sincere, but it was that of the heart and not of the passions.

In 1811, a Work was published in England, en-

titled "THE SPIRIT OF THE BOOK, or Memoirs of Caroline, Princess of Hasburgh." For some time it excited great attention, by the boldness of its statements and the professed accuracy of its information, but it was indeed a romance. It professed to give a correct account of the early Life and Secret History of the Princess of Wales; but it was written by an individual solely for pecuniary advantage, and was as wholly destitute of correctness as any volume of Spanish or Oriental fiction. To the writer of "The Spirit of the Book" it must, however, be conceded that he possessed considerable imagination, a good understanding, and a taste for the beauties of nature; and that, as a work solely of imagination, it deserves to be preserved.

The real history of the attachment of the Princess of Brunswick to the German Soldier is now known to but three or four individuals, and two of them are resident on the Continent. The individual whom she so loved, was valiant, honourable, intelligent, amiable, and of good family; but a marriage with him was opposed by her mother, not only from views dictated by state policy, but also by family pride and prudence. Their mutual affection was long concealed, and during his absence from Brunswick, a correspondence was occasionally maintained, which tended to increase their regard. Her father, on ascertaining its existence, was displeased and disappointed, and urged by her mother, peremptorily refused his acquiescence to the proposed marriage. Her entreaties were unavailing, and her threats disregarded;

the German Prince and Officer was banished from the court, and her heart never ceased to feel the melancholy and overwhelming disappointment. Her alleged flight with him is wholly untrue; though probably, even for that measure, her ardent love would have found excuses, if it could have been with propriety accomplished. Her affection for her father was the chief preventive to such a proceeding, or to the consummation of a love which was as pure as it was permanent. It must here be admitted, that the disappointment which her heart experienced in her compelled renunciation of the German warrior, unhappily affected her situation and circumstances during the whole of her future life, and was one cause of that unhappiness which she subsequently endured. He died in battle, and his death occasioned the most acute distress to the heart of the Princess.

Soon after the termination of her friendship with the German Prince, the Duke of Brunswick felt particularly desirous that his daughter should be united to the *present King of Prussia*. For some time he had visited at the court of her father when a young man, and had interested him by his manners, his conduct and his accomplishments; but the Princess peremptorily refused, and her mother was not very anxious on the subject. Her father yielded to her determination, and her mother now secretly entertained hopes that the Prince of Wales might become the husband of her daughter. The sister of the Princess had been married at the age of sixteen, to Frederick William, Prince of Wirtemberg, and Caroline, the only remaining

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daughter, had now arrived at the age of twenty-six; and no connection was meditated. Her prudent mother now became anxious on the subject, and was fully prepared to receive the overtures of her brother, for the marriage of the Prince of Wales to her daughter.

The life of the Princess of Brunswick, from the age of twenty to twenty-six, must not however be forgotten. Her days were not consumed in love. She employed herself in the establishment of an Institution for the relief of suffering humanity; visited the public Institutions and buildings of the country; attended to the education of the poor; made weekly visits to the indigent and distressed, and attracted great attention by her peculiar attachment to little children. These little ones would, as it were by instinct, find her out, and familiarly run to her when taking her walks in the garden of the palace, and she would receive them with affectionate caresses and kindness. At Brunswick, many persons now advanced in years, retain a grateful recollection of the happy moments they enjoyed in their childhood, from the gracious kindness of their good Princess.— This predilection for children, which was peculiar and ardent, was subsequently the occasion of consequences the most serious to the happiness of the Princess. At Brunswick, she had several young proteges, whose intellectual and moral improvement she studied to promote.

Though however her exertions and amusements were thus public in their character, she took

peculiar pleasure in domestic and social enjoyments. Her family were by her greatly beloved, and she used frequently to declare, that she envied the domestic happiness of the cottagers. Walking one day with her mother, the Duchess, in the garden of the palace, their conversation turned upon connubial bliss, and particularly upon the question, whether tranquillity and happiness is more easily attained in that state, by the higher or by the inferior classes. The Duchess maintained that Princesses had a great advantage in that respect, and that it was less difficult for them to live in harmony with their husbands, because they had nothing to do with the economical arrangements of their establishments, and were subject to no deficiency of the means for gratifying their personal wants and wishes, whereas among the other classes of society, such difficulties, and frequently also poverty, were the sources of innumerable disputes between man and wife. This opinion did not harmonize with that of the Princess, she answered, "It is the fault of the wives, "if they enter into any dissensions with their "husbands, with regard to ungratified wishes or "poverty, as they would do better to relinquish "such wishes (which are frequently frivolous), "and endure privation with patience and fortitude. In marriages among the great, these "causes for dissension, certainly do not exist, nor "generally speaking, do public and violent quarrels occur, but frequently so much more of indifference, or none of that kind of hearty cor-

"diality, which is observable amongst the inferior  
 "classes prevails. This may easily," she said,  
 "be explained, the Citizen's daughter has the  
 "great advantage of being allowed to choose her  
 "husband, according to her own mind, the daugh-  
 "ters of Princes, on the other hand, are married  
 "by policy, and then the desired harmony of  
 "minds seldom succeeds. The married Prince  
 "and Princess besides, observe too much distance  
 "and stiff ceremony, in their intercourse with  
 "each other; each lives in a certain manner  
 "separated from the other, in an extensive palace,  
 "and have their children also, too little about  
 "them, so that even through the splendour, and  
 "bustle of a Court life, man and wife, parents  
 "and children, become strangers to each other.  
 "Between persons of Princely rank, so circum-  
 "stanced, a greater reciprocal respect, and an  
 "excessive refinement in deportment is certainly  
 "observed, but all familiar intimacy, and with it,  
 "the principal happiness of the marriage state,  
 "is thus lost."

The Princess thus spoke her whole mind, in the  
 presence of a distinguished Clergyman, who has  
 supplied the account; and who could say she was  
 not in the right? This opinion is an important  
 additional trait in the character of the Princess,  
 and may tend to explain many things that occur-  
 red in her after life.

To travelling, the Princess was very partial,  
 and accompanied by the Duchess and her Gover-  
 nesses, she frequently explored the German Em-

pire. When so engaged, she was not satisfied with merely itinerating from place to place, and with rapidly passing over a certain quantity of territory, but she always examined with great minuteness, into the various curiosities and circumstances of every spot. On one occasion, when passing through Hochkirch, a violent storm of thunder and lightning, prevented the progress of the travellers; but in the midst of it, the Princess Caroline could not be found; she had gone to explore the field of battle at that place, and which was memorable for a most severe conflict, which had there taken place during the seven years war. Though the lightning flashed, and the thunder roared, her spirit was undaunted, and with melancholy interest, she stood motionless, contemplating the burying place of thousands.

The description of this visit, is given in the following words in *der Geschichte der Braunschweigischen Familie*.

“The thunder was still roaring at a distance—  
 “the wind rushed by me in heavy gusts—but the  
 “wind had nearly ceased, as I mounted the height  
 “on which the remains of the celebrated Prussian  
 “battery are visible where the attack of the ene-  
 “my began. I stood on the fallen redoubt, and  
 “overlooked the whole extent of the Austrian and  
 “Prussian camp—a solemn silence was around  
 “me—the grass waved on the hills where the slain  
 “rested in thousands—in the front of the battery  
 “stood a mound covered with wild flowers—I  
 “formed a wreath of blue, red, and white ones,  
 “and I kept it in memory of the dead.”

“On my return, I visited the parish church—  
 “in an obscure corner of it stands the celebrated  
 “marble monument of Field Marshal Keith, and  
 “on one of the benches a spot of blood was visible. What is this? I asked my companion,—  
 “Here fell Keith, he replied, he was found on the  
 “following morning stripped, robbed by the followers of the army, and he was carried to his  
 “grave on a wheelbarrow. Such are the horrors  
 “of war; in the church yard, I saw the skulls  
 “and bones projecting from the graves—a dismal  
 “ghastly scene!”

Another anecdote has been related of her whilst travelling on one occasion, which is worthy of notice. At a small inn in Germany, she had occasion to stop, in consequence of an accident which had happened to one of the carriages. The Princess and her party were shewn into a small room, the decorations of which were of a peculiar sort, and which attracted particularly the attention of the former, as it appeared more like a pantheon than a common room in a German inn. The art of the sculptor and the painter seemed to be exhausted in the various representations of the holy Virgin, of Peter, of Bartholomew, of Jacob Dominicus and Francisus, and indeed of all the saints in the Roman Calendar. The Princess had just taken up a small cross to examine it, when the landlady entered with the refreshment which had been ordered, and who uttered a loud scream when she saw the cross in the hands of a heretic. The Princess knew not that she had offended against

good manners; but the landlady continued to exclaim, "O those vile Englishmen, never can it be forgiven in heaven." "And what have the Englishmen been doing," asked the Princess, "they are a people I admire, and although they may be guilty of a few indiscretions on their travels, they must be attributed more to that love of freedom, in which they have been educated, than to a desire to offend." "A love of freedom indeed," exclaimed the landlady, "that may be all well, but by what part of their education were they privileged to cut off both the legs of that holy figure on the cross—was there ever such an act heard of?" The Princess was so far versed in the knowledge of the world, as not to be ignorant that it is a fruitless task to contend with the religious prejudices of an individual, and therefore she prudently forbore from offering any palliation for this most heretical act of the Englishmen. "But," continued the landlady, "I did not show the fellows all my sacred curiosities, but to you they shall be exhibited." On which she opened a box, and took from it, two Virgin Marys, three Jesuses and a small bit of parchment, which she declared to be a portion of the skin of St. Peter. One of the Virgin Marys, the Princess discovered to be an English doll, with a wire between its legs for the purpose of making it shut its eyes; and a smile came upon her countenance at the very strange metamorphosis which the English doll had undergone: and it is certain that the humble manufacturer little thought of the

exalted honour which his handicraft work was one day destined to enjoy. "Do you consider these curiosities of any value?" asked the Princess. "Value!" exclaimed the landlady, "it is unknown the sum I gave for them at a neighbouring auction, and since I have been in possession of them, I have reared more geese, ducks, and fowls, than I ever did before in my life." The Princess congratulated the good landlady upon her important acquisitions, and warning her never to exhibit them to Englishmen, she took her departure, secretly rejoicing that she had been educated in the Protestant Faith.

The opinions of the Princess, at this time, as to female character, are also worth recording, as they will demonstrate the principles by which her subsequent conduct was induced.

"I consider," said her Serene Highness to the celebrated Schiller, "that woman to be the most estimable, who while she brings into the world all the charms of society; taste, grace, and genius, knows at the same time how to guard her reason and her heart, from that insipid vanity, that false sensibility, that violent self-love, and from all those affectations which spring up from an inordinate love of society; who, against her inclinations, submits to customs and usages, because it is a necessary part of wisdom, and does not, in the mean time, lose sight of nature, but still sometimes turns herself towards reflection upon what is natural, at least to honour it by her regrets."

" I consider that woman to be estimable, who,  
 " in cultivating philosophy and letters, loves them  
 " for their own sake, and not for a vain and frivo-  
 " lous reputation; who by the study of good  
 " books endeavours to enlighten her understanding  
 " by the knowledge of truth, to strengthen her  
 " mind by principles, and leave others the jargon,  
 " the parade, and the words; in short, her who  
 " will not caress a worthless person, because he  
 " happens to have a credit and a name, but at the  
 " hazard of displeasing, determines, in her house,  
 " and out of it, to preserve her esteem for virtue,  
 " her contempt for vice, her sensibility for friend-  
 " ship, and in spite of the passion for having an  
 " extensive society, dares, even in the midst of  
 " that society, have the courage to publish a mode  
 " of thinking so extraordinary, and the still greater  
 " courage to act to it."

In the succeeding chapter will be developed the  
 circumstances which led to proposals for a mar-  
 riage between the heir apparent to the British  
 throne, and her Serene Highness:—and to those  
 it will therefore be here necessary to advert. In  
 the commencement of the year 1794, after many  
 previous intimations on the subject, the Duke  
 of Brunswick received from his Majesty King  
 George III. formal proposals for a marriage be-  
 tween the Prince of Wales and the Princess  
 Caroline. On this receipt, the Duke immediately  
 consulted his daughter, and her mother did not  
 strive to conceal her happiness and delight. The  
 Princess received the intelligence with composure

amounting to indifference. That the proposed union was one by which her family would be elevated, and by which her own happiness *might be* improved she admitted, but her heart was of course unmoved by the prospect. Her consent she did not withhold, because although she had heard of the follies of the Prince, she had also heard of his virtues ;—and his *generosity* and *sensibility* had been greatly extolled. Yet here it must be admitted, that the Princess, neither did, nor could LOVE her future husband. Her affections had not been alienated from the German Prince, although their manifestation had been prevented, and indeed the precise state of her mind cannot be better explained than in her own words.

In a letter, written to a friend, dated 28th, November, 1794, she thus expressed herself.

“ You are aware, my friend, of my destiny. I am about entering into a matrimonial alliance with my first cousin, George Prince of Wales. His generosity I regard, and his letters bespeak a mind well cultivated and refined. My uncle is a good man, and I love him very much, but I feel that I shall never be inexpressibly happy. Estranged from my connections, my associations, my friends, all that I hold dear and valuable, I am about entering on a permanent connection. I fear for the consequences. Yet I esteem

“and respect my intended husband, and I  
 “hope for great kindness and attention:  
 “But ah me, I say sometimes, I cannot  
 “now love him with ardour. I am indif-  
 “ferent to my marriage, but not averse to  
 “it; I think I shall be happy, but I fear  
 “my joy will not be enthusiastic. The  
 “man of my choice I am debarred from  
 “possessing, and I resign myself to my  
 “destiny. I am attentively studying the  
 “English language; I am acquainted with  
 “it, but I wish to speak it with fluency.  
 “I shall strive to render my husband  
 “happy, and to interest him in my  
 “favour since the Fates will have it that I  
 “am to be PRINCESS of WALES.”\*

Her precise feelings she did not hesitate to  
 conceal from her mother, and the latter was sur-  
 prised and almost offended. Sometimes indeed,  
 the Princess anticipated much of honour and  
 happiness, but then past recollections enveloped  
 her future prospects in gloom, and made her  
 anxious, and even distressed.

On the communication of her intended marriage  
 to the inhabitants of Brunswick the regret was  
 universal and sincere. “With pain at the idea of  
 “never seeing her again, but with sweet hope  
 “and most fervent wishes for her welfare, did the  
 “inhabitants of her native city, hear of her de-

\* This letter was written in German, and was addressed to  
 a German Lady, residing for a short time in England.—She is  
 now advanced in years.

“parture.” The Court, the authorities, the charitable institutions, and all classes of the community, congratulated her Serene Highness on the bright prospects, which to them, appeared before her; and she returned their good wishes, with corresponding emotions.

According to the determination expressed in the letter, an extract from which has just been inserted, the Princess devoted a great part of her time, prior to quitting her native country, in acquiring an accurate knowledge of the English language. Her success was rapid and complete. The Prince of Wales on her arrival, complimented her on the fluency, and propriety with which she spoke it, and “declared on his honour, that no “Englishwoman could possibly excel her.”

On the 30th December, 1794, her Serene Highness left the Court of Brunswick, attended by her mother and a retinue splendid and numerous. The acclamation of the populace followed her for several miles on her route, and those to whom she had manifested kindness, prayed to the God of charity for his blessing on the union. When they arrived at Peina, the Duchess was somewhat indisposed, and they were obliged to delay the journey; but on the 1st of January, 1795, they reached Osnaburg, where they were met by a messenger from Lord St. Helens, announcing that in consequence of the war which then existed in Germany, the squadron which was destined to convey her to England, had returned; and advising her to vary her intention of entering Holland. To Hanover she had

been invited by the Regency, and the Bishop's Palace was prepared for her reception. The invitation she accepted, and there remained for several weeks. She then proceeded, accompanied by her suite, to Cuxhaven, for the purpose of embarking for the place of her destination. During the period which elapsed from the time of her leaving Brunswick, to that of quitting Cuxhaven, she yet further studied the English language—read many hours every day—made many enquiries as to English manners and customs—and appeared particularly anxious to be perfectly acquainted with the genius and character of the nation over whom she might one day be called to reign.

The eyes of the whole English nation were now directed to the arrival of the Princess of Brunswick; congratulatory addresses were prepared, and the powers of poetry were invoked to hail her arrival on British land. Dr. Hurdis, the Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, in honour of the expected Princess, invoked, in the following lines, a genial season for her passage, and her safe and happy arrival on the shores of England.

“ Impending season ! to the frozen North  
 “ Bid the strong gale, and low redundant cloud,  
 “ Whose gloom down-stooping ev’ry hill-top sweeps,  
 “ Retreat. O’er hyperborean regions shed  
 “ Thy feath’ry show’rs, and drift it with thy breath;  
 “ Bind other streams with ice, and o’er the lakes  
 “ Make firm as rock with thy congealing frown;  
 “ Elsewhere be tyrannous, but gentle here;  
 “ Here smile serene, and let incantious Spring,

"Decoy'd or ere her season, on thy brow  
 "An od'rous chaplet place of early buds,  
 "And deck with blossoms thy snow-sprinkled crown.  
 "Be gay, dull season, and inspir'd at length  
 "By ling'ring Autumn and returning Spring,  
 "Learn all their dance, and be as brisk as they;  
 "Let the cold sceptre from thy hand depart,  
 "And Spring be queen instead, to welcome home  
 "Brunswick's fair daughter, and before her strew  
 "All vernal beauty on the British shore."

At length, on March 28, 1795, she embarked in the *Jupiter*, Commodore Payne, Mrs. Harcourt, and Lord Malmesbury, embarked in the same ship; and Major Heslop, Colonel Richardson, and Mr. Ross, in the *Phæton* Frigate. Mrs. Aston and Mrs. St. Leger, who had been sent by the Prince of Wales to meet her, also accompanied her. Lady Jersey had also been directed to embark from Rochester, but she returned to London with the excuse of being unwell, and stated her inability to proceed. On March 29, 1795, the vessels weighed anchor from Cuxhaven, with a fair wind at E. N. E. which continued for three days, when a thick fog came on. They were then only six leagues from Yarmouth, but as it was dangerous to draw nearer the coast, the ships dropped anchor, and fired fog guns every hour. In this situation they lay through the whole of Thursday. The Princess had hitherto been extremely well, had walked the quarter deck every day, and was uncommonly cheerful; but the fog, and the motion of the vessel at anchor, disturbed her health. On Friday, April 4th, the morning

was uncommonly fine; and, at four o'clock, the Jupiter made the signal to get under weigh. The fleet went under an easy sail, came off Harwich about noon, and passed through the Swin, to enter the Thames. About two, a very thick fog came on, which obliged the Commodore to drop anchor. At four, the fog dispersed, and the signal being made to unmoor, the fleet again got under weigh, and about six o'clock dropped anchor at the Nore; being saluted from the Sandwich guard-ship stationed off there.

At nine o'clock on Saturday morning, 4th of April, the ships got under weigh, the tide serving, and about noon the Jupiter anchored off Gravesend. The Princess slept on board that night.

On Sunday morning, as soon as the tide served, her Serene Highness, accompanied by Mrs. Harcourt, Lord Malmesbury, Commodore Payne, Mrs. Aston, and Mrs. St. Leger, disembarked from the Jupiter, and went on board one of the royal yachts; and, after twelve o'clock, landed at Greenwich hospital. The Princess was received by Sir Hugh Palliser, the Governor, and other officers, who conducted her to the Governor's house. Lady Jersey did not arrive at the Governor's till an hour after the Princess had landed: and soon after they both retired into an adjoining room, and the dress of the Princess was changed, for one which was brought from town by Lady Jersey.

A little after two o'clock, her Serene Highness left the Governor's house, and got into one of the

King's coaches, drawn by six horses. In this coach were also Mrs. Harcourt and Lady Jersey. Another of his Majesty's coaches and six preceded it, in which were Mrs. Harvey Aston, Lord Malmesbury, Lord Clermont, and Colonel Greville. In a third coach with four horses, were two female servants, whom the Princess brought from Germany, and were her only German attendants from that country. The Princess's carriage was escorted on each side by a party of the Prince of Wales' own regiment of light dragoons. Beside this escort, the road was lined at small distances by troops of the heavy dragoons, who were stationed from Greenwich all the way to the Horse-Guards. In her passage through the crowds of people that lined the whole way, her Serene Highness repeatedly bowed and smiled. Before three o'clock she alighted at St. James's, and was introduced into the apartments prepared for her reception. On entering the Palace, the Prince of Wales appeared agitated, but on being introduced to, he immediately saluted her. After dining together, at the hour of five, the Prince and Princess were visited by the King, Queen, and Princesses, Duke of Clarence, Duke of Gloucester, Prince William and Princess Sophia, and continued with them for three hours. The King was particularly affable and kind to his intended daughter, but the Queen evinced little pleasure, made but few enquiries, and manifested feelings much opposed in character to those of the King. The Prince of Wales was not only polite and affable to the Princess, but paid her many compli-

ments; expressed his happiness and confidence in the prospect of an union with her, and his surprise at the fluency, with which she conversed in English. At eleven o'clock, the Prince of Wales retired, and the Princess was then left under the care of Mrs. Aston.

Lady Jersey, who had been present during the greatest part of the interview, and who had appeared displeased by the attentions which the Prince of Wales had paid to his destined wife, now also retired, determined to avail herself of the period which would elapse prior to a second interview, between the illustrious personages, to represent to the Prince in false and unmerited language, the character of her Royal mistress.—To Lady Jersey, the Princess of Brunswick had certainly most incautiously and unwisely, stated her attachment to a German Prince, and Lady Jersey, stated that the Princess said, “she was persuaded that she loved one little finger of that individual, far better than she should love the whole person of the Prince of Wales.” Her late Majesty denied the accuracy of the statement, but yet admitted that she had imprudently referred to a former attachment. Lady Jersey on the succeeding day, apprized the Prince of Wales of that attachment, assured him that his intended Consort had made the above declaration; found fault with her person, and her manners, predicted that the marriage, if consummated, would be unfortunate—and inveighed against the King for promoting the intended union. Part of this state-

ment was subsequently admitted by Lady Jersey, and what was not so admitted, was stated by her late Majesty, on the highest authority to have taken place.

The effects of her efforts were immediate and baneful, on the next day when the Prince of Wales visited St. James's, he was cool and reserved in his manners, and manifested, if not an aversion to the Princess of Brunswick, at least a considerable alteration in his conduct. Queen Charlotte has been accused of being the individual who effected, or contributed to effect such alteration,—but the statement is erroneous. The malicious and artful Lady Jersey, was the principal, if not the sole cause.

At length the day arrived, when the nuptials were to be solemnized, and on the evening of April the 8th 1795, the marriage took place. It was celebrated at the Royal Chapel, St. James's, and the ceremony was splendid and imposing.

The procession to and from the Chapel, was in the following order.

**The PROCESSION of the Bride.**

**Drums and Trumpets.**

**Kettle Drums.**

**Serjeant Trumpeter.**

**Master of the Ceremonies.**

**Bride's Gentleman Usher between the Two senior Heralds.**

**His Majesty's Vice Chamberlain.**

**His Majesty's Lord Chamberlain.**

**THE BRIDE,**

**In her Nuptial habit, with a Coronet, led by his Royal Highness  
the Duke of Clarence.**

Her train borne by four unmarried daughters of Dukes and  
Earls, viz.

Lady Mary Osborne,	Lady Caroline Villiers,
Lady Charlotte Spencer,	Lady Charlotte Legge.

And her Royal Highness was attended by the  
Ladies of her Household.

On entering the Chapel, her Royal Highness  
was conducted to her seat, prepared for her near  
her Majesty's chair of state. The Master of the  
Cereemonies with the Gentleman Usher retired to  
the places assigned them.

The Lord Chamberlain and Vice Chamberlain,  
with a Herald, returned to attend the Bridegroom,  
the senior Herald remaining in the Chapel to  
conduct the several persons to their respective  
places.

The BRIDEGROOM'S Procession,

In the same order as that of the Bride, with the addition of the  
Officers of his Highness's Household.

His Royal Highness the PRINCE OF WALES,

In his Collar of the Order of the Garter, supported by two un-  
married Dukes, Duke of Bedford, and Duke of Roxburgh.

And his Royal Highness being conducted to his  
seat in the Chapel Royal; the Lord Chamberlain,  
Vice Chamberlain, and two Heralds, returned to  
attend his Majesty.

THEIR MAJESTIES' Procession.

Drums and Trumpets as before.

Knight Marshal.

Pursuivants.

Herald.

Treasurer of the Household.

Master of the Horse.  
 Two married Dukes.  
 Duke of Leeds, Duke of Beaufort.  
 Lord Steward of the Household.  
 Provincial King of Arms.  
 Serjeant at Arms. { Lord Privy Seal.  
                           Archbishop of York.  
                           Lord President of the Council. } Serjeant at Arms.  
                           Lord High Chancellor.  
                           Archbishop of Canterbury. }  
 Gentleman Usher. { Garter Principal King of Arms, } Gentleman Usher.  
                           with his Sceptre. }  
 The Earl Marshal with his Staff.  
 Princes of the Blood Royal.  
 Prince William.  
 His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester.  
 His Royal Highness the Duke of York.  
 Vice Chamberlain of the Household.  
 Sword of State, borne by the Duke of Portland.  
 Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

**HIS MAJESTY,**

In the Collar of the Order of the Garter.  
 Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.  
 Colonel of the Life Guards in waiting.  
 Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.  
 The Lord of the Bed Chamber in waiting.  
 Master of the Robes.  
 Groom of the Bed Chamber.  
 Vice Chamberlain to the Queen.  
 The Queen's Lord Chamberlain.

**HER MAJESTY.**

The Queen's Master of the Horse.  
 Their Royal Highnesses  
 Princess Augusta Sophia,  
 Princess Elizabeth,  
 Princess Mary,

Princess Sophia,  
 Princess Amelia.  
 Her Royal Highness the Duchess of York.  
 Princess Sophia of Gloucester.  
 Supported severally by their Gentlemen Ushers.  
 The Ladies of her Majesty's Bedchamber.  
 Maids of Honour.  
 Women of her Majesty's Bedchamber.

How much the King was interested in this match, was manifest by several minute circumstances connected with the ceremonial of the day. The whole of the Royal family, having dined together at the Queen's palace, it was necessary afterwards for them to proceed to St. James's, to their respective apartments to dress; and on leaving Buckingham House, the good old King not only saluted the Princess in the hall, but gave the Prince of Wales such a hearty shake of the hand as brought tears into his eyes.

When the service was performing, and the Archbishop of Canterbury came to that part, where it is asked, "Who gives the bride in marriage?" his Majesty instantly and eagerly advanced to the Princess, and taking her with both his hands, presented her with the greatest marks of satisfaction.

His Majesty was also carefully watchful of the conduct of all: and the Prince, after repeating his part of the service with great clearness and precision, having risen too soon from his kneeling posture, the Archbishop paused, when the King instantly observing the accidental error, rose from his seat, and whispered to the Prince, who knelt again, and the service was concluded.

After the ceremonial, their Majesties held a drawing room, which was numerous and brilliantly attended: and on its close, the whole of the Royal family returned to the Queen's palace to supper, quite in a domestic style, the new married pair retiring to Carlton House at midnight.

The next morning, the King and Queen, previous to setting off for Windsor, paid them a nuptial visit, after which, the bride and bridegroom, set off for Windsor also, where the honey-moon was commenced under auspices, which unhappily failed to be as permanent, as a loyal nation were anxious that they should prove.

The celebration of this splendid ceremony was hailed by all ranks and orders of people with enthusiasm. The thundering expressions of delight by the cannon in the park and at the tower, were answered by the acclamations of the populace, the ringing of bells; by the display of flags, the flashing of a million tapers, fantastically shining in all shapes and dimensions, and illuminating the whole of the metropolis. The sympathetic feeling extended itself with the rapidity of lightning to the remotest parts of the empire, and produced the most enthusiastic effusions of loyalty and joy.

Addresses of congratulation on the nuptials, poured in from all parts of the kingdom. England received her as its future Queen, and the succession to the British throne, appeared to be confirmed in the house of Brunswick.

The history of the Princess of Brunswick has now terminated, and on that history some observations appear to be necessary.

If Lady Jersey had not, with a perfidy only equalled by her hardihood, stepped forward to prevent the possibility of happiness to the illustrious individuals, although they might not ever have been models of conjugal attachment, yet it is more than probable, that at least in peace and harmony the Prince and Princess of Wales would have passed their days. It is indeed admitted, that the Princess was not in a state of mind most favourable to marriage; and it will hereafter be developed that the feelings and situation of the Prince, were not more adapted to his projected union; but just in the same proportion as they were mutually unprepared, and unfitted, was that malice, which studied by treachery and by falsehood to render the happiness consequent on that union, not merely problematical but impossible.

To that period and to such conduct, then, may be traced the subsequent dissatisfaction and misery which resulted from this marriage, and which tended to involve the parties, the Royal Family, and the nation in feuds which have not yet subsided; and, which have been attended with evils which will ever remain as blots on the page of English History, and as rallying points for party feeling and political spleen.

Let it however be remembered, that to the imprudence, the unjustifiable ingenuousness and the love of independence of the Princess, may be par-

tially attributed the evils which ensued; since to Lady Jersey, who was to her a stranger, a foreigner, and an inferior, she should not have developed feelings which she ought, from every one, to have concealed; and thus roused into action the dormant evil passions and principles of that celebrated traducer.

## CHAPTER III.

LIFE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, FROM HIS INFANCY, TO  
THE PERIOD OF HIS MARRIAGE. 1762—1795.

**THE** Records of connubial discord and family disunion, are generally replete with incidents which do little credit to human nature, or to the finer sensibilities of the heart. Their origin is frequently involved in mystery, and not unseldom the cause, when discovered, is as insignificant as the consequences are fatal. The privacy of domestic life is invaded, and all the delicate feelings of the mind are explored by the exposers of mutual disagreement; yet, unfortunately, the duty is frequently as necessary as it is painful. The morals of a Court are eminently unfavourable to such an investigation. Vice there too often finds a covert. Sincerity and friendship are exploded by formality and hypocrisy, and should any Royal Personage venture on acting with the frankness belonging to individuals less exalted in rank, his character would be reproached as undignified and vulgar.

The developments of this, the preceding and the succeeding chapters, partake of the nature of social history; and unhappily will tend, additionally, to demonstrate that the smile of apparent

satisfaction often disguises the misery of the heart, and that to great national or individual festivity, frequently succeeds gloom the most appalling, and evils the most distressful.

Before, however, such events are related, it will be important to ascertain their origin. To assist in forming a correct opinion, it will be necessary to advert to the previous history, and to the precise situation of the Prince of Wales at the period of his marriage. Such recapitulation will be conducted with that delicacy which is due to exalted rank; yet, with that fidelity which should invariably distinguish the Historian.

The Prince of Wales, eldest son of his late Majesty King George III. was born August 12, 1762. As eldest son of his Majesty, his hereditary honours were numerous and distinguished. He was Prince of Wales, Electoral Prince of Brunswick Lunenburgh, Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay, Earl of Chester and Carrick, Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Great Steward of Scotland. The education of the Prince was of a private character, and was conducted under the immediate superintendence of his parents. At the age of nine, he was placed under the care of Dr. Markham, afterwards Archbishop of York; and of Dr. Cyril Jackson: men distinguished for their literary attainments and their qualifications as preceptors. Kind yet firm, learned yet affable, diligent and attentive; they devoted their best energies to the improvement of their illustrious pupil, and for five years laboured with unremit-

ting zeal and assiduity. Possessed of talents of no ordinary character, the young Prince rapidly improved; and at the age of fourteen his acquisitions in knowledge were considerable. At that age his tutors were changed, and the celebrated Dr. Hurd, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, and Mr. Arnold, Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge, occupied the stations of Dr. Markham, and Dr. Jackson. Though removed from filling the office of Tutors to the Prince, Dr. Markham and his colleague received not their dismissal as any expression of Royal displeasure, since the former was afterwards elevated to the Archbishoprick of York, and Dr. Jackson was offered the primacy of Ireland, on the decease of Archbishop Newcombe, although he declined the proffered honour. His Royal Highness's education was somewhat varied by his new preceptors. Of Dr. Hurd, and Mr. Arnold many observations were made, alike improper and unkind, and it was said, "that Markham and Jackson were exchanged for the *supple Hurd* " *and the insignificant Arnold.*" That the firmness and energy of their characters might not have been equal to the former instructors of his Royal Highness, may with truth be conceded, but any further concession would be unjust.

To Bishop Hurd the King was much attached, and in 1788, he presented him with an elegant gold medal, which he bestowed upon him at the Queen's palace, as a mark of respect: and in 1790, his Majesty sent him two full length portraits of himself and his Royal Consort. The

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education of his Royal Highness, it must be acknowledged, bore the aspect of sternness, rather than of affection, and yet few men ever fulfilled with more propriety, the duties of a parent, than King George the III. Whatever opinions are entertained as to his character, and policy as a Sovereign, and as to the measures of his Cabinet, it is universally admitted, that he performed the social duties of life with exemplary propriety and uniform exactness. During the earlier years of the Prince of Wales, his passions were vehement, and his temper unmanageable; but his generosity was unbounded, and his faults appeared to be those which observation and experience would materially alter. To literature, or to science, he was not however much attached, and his amusements were chiefly those which unfortunately encouraged expensive habits, and dangerous associations. Yet on the Prince of Wales the hopes of the nation were centered, and habitually kind and indulgent towards their rulers, the English viewed with a favourable eye, the follies of his *youth*, and predicted a *maturity* of great and generous principles. The first event however, which peculiarly attracted public attention, and which occurred prior to the Prince having attained his majority, tended in some measure to alter public opinion. It was his attachment to the beautiful and accomplished, but unfortunate Mrs. Robinson. Mrs. Robinson was an actress possessing great personal charms, a lively imagination, a well-informed mind, warm and generous

affections, but considerable vanity. In the character of *Perdita*, in the play of *The Winter's Tale*, she eminently excelled, and she enjoyed for a long time the approbation of the public. His Royal Highness at this time was in his nineteenth year, and Mrs. Robinson in her twenty-first. Impressed by her charms and captivated by the graces of her acting, he determined on becoming more intimately acquainted with her, and Lord Malden (afterwards Earl of Essex) conveyed to her a letter, expressing those sentiments of affection with which he was inspired.

A secret epistolary correspondence commenced, Lord Malden was the channel of communication, and a personal interview was desired. "At length," said Mrs. Robinson, when writing some years afterwards to a friend, "an evening was fixed for this long dreaded interview. Lord Malden and myself dined at the inn, on the island between Kew and Brentford. We waited the signal for crossing the river in a boat, which had been engaged for that purpose. Heaven can witness how many conflicts my agitated heart endured at this most important moment! I admired the Prince; I felt grateful for his affection. He was the most engaging of created beings. I had corresponded with him during many months, and his eloquent letters, the exquisite sensibility which breathed through every line, his ardent professions of adoration, had combined to shake my feeble resolution. The handkerchief was waved on the opposite shore;

“ but the signal was, by the dusk of the evening,  
 “ rendered almost imperceptible. Lord Malden  
 “ took my hand, I stepped into the boat, and in  
 “ a few minutes we landed before the iron gates  
 “ of old Kew palace. The interview was but of  
 “ a moment. The Prince of Wales and the Duke  
 “ of York were walking down the avenue. They  
 “ hastened to meet us. A few words, and those  
 “ scarcely articulate were uttered by the Prince,  
 “ when a noise of people approaching from the  
 “ palace startled us. The moon was now rising,  
 “ and the idea of being overheard, or of his Royal  
 “ Highness being seen out at so unusual an hour,  
 “ terrified the whole group. After a few more  
 “ words of the most affectionate nature, uttered  
 “ by the Prince, we parted, and Lord Malden and  
 “ myself returned to the island: The Prince  
 “ never quitted the avenue nor the presence of  
 “ the Duke of York, during the whole of this  
 “ short meeting. Alas! my friend, if my mind  
 “ was before influenced by esteem, it was now  
 “ awakened to the most enthusiastic admiration.  
 “ The rank of the Prince no longer chilled into  
 “ awe that being who now considered him as the  
 “ lover and the friend. The graces of his person,  
 “ the irresistible sweetness of his smile, the ten-  
 “ derness of his melodious yet manly voice, will  
 “ be remembered by me, till every vision of this  
 “ changing scene shall be forgotten. Many and  
 “ frequent were the interviews which afterwards  
 “ took place at this romantic spot; our walks  
 “ sometimes continued till past midnight, the

“ Duke of York and Lord Malden were always of  
 “ the party, and our conversation was composed  
 “ of general topics.

“ The Prince had from his infancy been wholly  
 “ secluded, and naturally took much pleasure in  
 “ conversing about the busy world, its manners  
 “ and pursuits, character and scenery. Nothing  
 “ could be more delightful, or more rational, than  
 “ our midnight perambulations. I always wore  
 “ a dark coloured habit; the rest of our party  
 “ generally wrapped themselves in great coats to  
 “ disguise them, excepting the Duke of York,  
 “ who almost universally alarmed us by the dis-  
 “ play of a buff coat, the most conspicuous colour  
 “ he could have selected for an adventure of this  
 “ nature. The polished and fascinating ingenu-  
 “ ousness of his Royal Highness’s manners, con-  
 “ tributed not a little to enliven our promenades.  
 “ He sung with exquisite taste, and the tones of  
 “ his voice breaking the silence of the night, have  
 “ often appeared to my entranced senses like  
 “ more than mortal melody. Often have I  
 “ lamented the distance which destiny had placed  
 “ between us; how my soul would have idolized  
 “ such a husband! alas! how often in the ardent  
 “ enthusiasm of my soul, have I formed the wish  
 “ that being were mine alone, to whom partial  
 “ millions were to look up for protection.

“ The Duke of York was now on the eve of  
 “ quitting the country for Hanover, the Prince  
 “ was also on the point of receiving his first  
 “ establishment; and the apprehension that his

" attachment to a married woman might injure  
 " his Royal Highness in the opinion of the world,  
 " rendered the caution which we invariably ob-  
 " served, of the utmost importance. A consider-  
 " able time elapsed in these delightful scenes of  
 " visionary happiness. The Prince's attachment  
 " seemed to increase daily, and I considered my-  
 " self as the most blest of human beings. During  
 " some time we had enjoyed our meetings in the  
 " neighbourhood of Kew, and I now only looked  
 " forward to the adjusting of his Royal Highness's  
 " establishment, for the public avowal of our mu-  
 " tual attachment.

" Previous to my first interview with his Royal  
 " Highness, in one of his letters, I was astonished  
 " to find a bond of the most solemn and binding  
 " nature, containing a promise of the sum of  
 " £20,000, to be paid at the period of his Royal  
 " Highness coming of age. This paper was  
 " signed by the Prince, and sealed with the royal  
 " arms; it was expressed in terms so liberal, so  
 " voluntary, so marked by true affection, that I  
 " had scarcely power to read it; my tears excited  
 " by the most agonizing conflicts, obscured the  
 " letters, and nearly blotted out those sentiments  
 " which will be impressed upon my mind, till the  
 " latest period of my existence. Still I felt shocked  
 " and mortified at the indelicate idea of entering  
 " into any pecuniary engagements with a Prince,  
 " on whose establishment I relied for the engage-  
 " ment of all that would render life desirable. I  
 " was surprised at receiving it; the idea of interest

“ had never entered into my mind ; secure of the  
 “ possession of his heart, I had in that delightful  
 “ certainty, counted all my future treasure. I  
 “ had refused many splendid gifts which his  
 “ Royal Highness had proposed ordering for me,  
 “ at Gray’s and other Jewellers. The Prince  
 “ presented to me a few trifling ornaments, in the  
 “ whole their value not exceeding one hundred  
 “ guineas; even these on our separation, I re-  
 “ turned to his Royal Highness through the hands  
 “ of General Lake.

“ The period now approached that was to des-  
 “ troy all the fairy visions which had filled my  
 “ mind with dreams of happiness, at the moment  
 “ when every thing was preparing for his Royal  
 “ Highness’s establishment, when I looked im-  
 “ patiently for the arrival of that day, in which I  
 “ might behold my adored friend gracefully re-  
 “ ceiving the acclamations of his future subjects,  
 “ when I might enjoy the public protection of that  
 “ being, for whom I gave up all, I received a letter  
 “ from his Royal Highness, a cold and unkind  
 “ letter, briefly informing me that “we must  
 “ meet no more.”

“ And now my friend (continued Mrs. Robinson  
 “ in her letter) suffer me to call God to witness,  
 “ that I was unconscious why this decision had  
 “ taken place in his Royal Highness’s mind.—  
 “ Only two days previous to this letter being  
 “ written, I had seen the Prince at Kew, and his  
 “ affection appeared to be boundless, as it was  
 “ undiminished.

“ Amazed, afflicted beyond the power of utter-  
 “ ance, I wrote immediately to his Royal High-  
 “ ness, requiring an explanation. . He remained  
 “ silent. Again I wrote, but received no eluci-  
 “ dation of this most cruel and extraordinary  
 “ mystery. The Prince was then at Windsor.  
 “ I set out in a small poney phaeton, wretched  
 “ and unaccompanied by any one except my  
 “ postillion, (a child of nine years of age). It was  
 “ dark when we quitted Hyde Park Corner,—on  
 “ my arrival at Hounslow, the innkeeper informed  
 “ me, that every carriage which had passed the  
 “ heath for the last ten nights, had been attacked  
 “ and rifled. I confess that the idea of personal  
 “ danger, had no terrors for my mind in the state  
 “ it then was, and the probability of annihilation,  
 “ divested of the crime of suicide, encouraged  
 “ rather than diminished my determination of  
 “ proceeding. We had scarcely reached the mid-  
 “ dle of the heath, when my horses were startled  
 “ by the sudden appearance of a man rushing  
 “ from the side of the road, the boy on perceiving  
 “ him, instantly spurred his poney, and by a sud-  
 “ den bound of our light vehicle, the ruffian missed  
 “ his grasp at the front rein; we now proceeded  
 “ at full speed, while the footpad ran, endeavour-  
 “ ing to overtake us. At length my horses fortu-  
 “ nately outrunning the perseverance of the as-  
 “ sailant, we reached the first Magpie, a small  
 “ inn on the heath, in safety. The alarm, which  
 “ in spite of my resolution, this adventure had  
 “ created, was augmented on my recollecting for

“ the first time, that I had then in my black stock  
 “ a brilliant stud, of very considerable value, which  
 “ could only have been possessed by the robber,  
 “ by strangling the wearer.

“ If my heart palpitated with joy at my escape  
 “ from assassination, a circumstance soon after  
 “ occurred that did not tend to quiet my emotions.  
 “ This was the appearance of Mr. H. Meynel and  
 “ Mrs. Armsted. My foreboding soul instantly  
 “ beheld a rival, and with jealous eagerness inter-  
 “ preted the hitherto inexplicable conduct of the  
 “ Prince, from his having frequently expressed  
 “ his wish to know that lady.

“ On my arrival, the Prince would not see me,  
 “ my agonies were now indescribable. I con-  
 “ sulted with Lord Malden and the Duke of  
 “ Dorset, whose honourable mind and truly dis-  
 “ interested friendship for me, had on many oc-  
 “ casions been exemplified towards me. They  
 “ were both at a loss to divine any cause of this  
 “ sudden change in the Prince’s feelings. The  
 “ Prince of Wales had hitherto assiduously sought  
 “ opportunities to distinguish me, more publicly  
 “ than was prudent in his Royal Highness’s situ-  
 “ ation. This was in the month of August: on  
 “ the 4th of the preceding June, I went by his  
 “ desire into the Chamberlain’s box, at the birth-  
 “ night ball; the distressing observation of the  
 “ circle was drawn towards the part of the box in  
 “ which I sat, by the marked and injudicious  
 “ attentions of his Royal Highness. I had not  
 “ been arrived many minutes, before I witnessed

“ a singular species of fashionable coquetry. Pre-  
 “ vious to his Royal Highness beginning his mi-  
 “ nuet, I perceived a woman of high rank, select  
 “ from the bouquet which she wore, two rose-  
 “ buds which she gave to the Prince, as he after-  
 “ wards informed me, emblematical of herself and  
 “ him. I observed his Royal Highness immedi-  
 “ ately beckon to a nobleman, who has since formed  
 “ a part of his establishment, and looking most  
 “ earnestly at me, whispered a few words at the  
 “ same time presenting to him his newly acquired  
 “ trophy. In a few moments, Lord C. entered  
 “ the Chamberlain’s box, and giving the rose-buds  
 “ into my hands, informed me, that he was com-  
 “ missioned by the Prince to do so. I placed  
 “ them in my bosom, and I confess, felt proud of  
 “ the power by which I thus publicly mortified an  
 “ exalted rival. His Royal Highness now avow-  
 “ edly distinguished me, at all public places of  
 “ entertainment, at the King’s hunt near Windsor,  
 “ at the reviews, and at the theatres. The Prince  
 “ only seemed happy in evincing his affection to-  
 “ wards me.

“ My good natured friends now, however, care-  
 “ fully informed me of the multitude of secret  
 “ enemies who were employed in estranging the  
 “ Prince’s mind from me. So fascinating, so  
 “ illustrious a lover could not fail to excite the  
 “ envy of my own sex. Women of all descrip-  
 “ tions were emulous of attracting his Royal High-  
 “ ness’s attention. Alas! I had neither rank nor  
 “ power to oppose such adversaries. Every en-

“ gine of female malice was set in motion to de-  
 “ stroy my repose, and every petty calumny was  
 “ repeated with tenfold embellishments. Tales  
 “ of the most infamous and glaring falsehood were  
 “ invented, and I was assailed by pamphlets, by  
 “ paragraphs and caricatures, and all the artillery  
 “ of slander, while the only being to whom I then  
 “ looked up for protection, was so situated as to  
 “ be unable to afford it.

“ Thus perplexed, (continued Mrs. Robinson,)  
 “ I wrote to you my friend, and implored your  
 “ advice. But you were far away (*in America*);  
 “ your delighted soul was absorbed in cherishing  
 “ the plant of human liberty which has since  
 “ blossomed with independent splendour over your  
 “ happy provinces. Eagerly did I wait for the  
 “ arrival of the packet, but no answer was returned.  
 “ In the anguish of my soul, I once more addressed  
 “ the Prince of Wales. I complained, perhaps, too  
 “ vehemently of his injustice ; of the calumnies  
 “ which had been by my enemies fabricated against  
 “ me, of the falsehood of which he was but too sen-  
 “ sible. I conjured him to render me justice. He  
 “ did so ; he wrote me a most eloquent letter, dis-  
 “ claiming the causes alleged by a calumniating  
 “ world, and fully acquitted me of the charges  
 “ which had been propagated to destroy me.

“ After much hesitation (continued Mrs. Robin-  
 “ son,) by the advice of Lord Malden, I consented  
 “ to meet his Royal Highness. He accosted me  
 “ with every appearance of tender attachment,  
 “ declaring that he had never, for one moment,

“ ceased to love me ; but that I had many concealed enemies, who were exerting every effort to undermine me. We passed some hours in the most friendly and delightful conversation, and I began to flatter myself that all our differences were adjusted. BUT WHAT WORDS CAN EXPRESS MY SURPRIZE AND CHAGRIN, WHEN ON MEETING HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE VERY NEXT DAY IN HYDE PARK, HE TURNED HIS HEAD TO AVOID SEEING ME, AND EVEN AFFECTED NOT TO KNOW ME.”

This is the history of a transaction which created suspicions which must ever be deplored, and feelings of dissatisfaction which were never afterwards entirely obliterated. The advocates of his Royal Highness, indeed, contended that the connection was improper—that Mrs. Robinson was a married woman, and an actress—that the Prince was but a young man—that it would have been improper, and indeed criminal, to have perpetuated the intercourse, and that the only possible way to avoid the evils which the connection would entail on him, was “ to get rid of her at once.” But to such defence it was replied, that the Prince had *sought*, flattered, caressed, and won the heart of Mrs. Robinson ; that for more than two years, the intimacy had subsisted between them ; that there was no pretence now for breaking off the connection, especially as others were forming ; that it displayed a wavering and vascillating disposition, and affections inconsistent alike with a great mind and a generous heart ; and principally, that even

if the action was in itself correct, the *manner* in which it was performed, was alone sufficient to indicate a total absence of sensibility and all the finer feelings of the heart. On such opposite conclusions it is here unnecessary to offer any opinion. The facts, unvarnished, and understated, have been presented by Mrs. R. and the present and succeeding generations will draw their own conclusions.

But to pursue the history of the Prince of Wales. On August 12, 1783, he attained the age of twenty-one, and the sum of £50,000 per annum was granted him, in addition to a donation of £60,000 to assist him in forming his establishment. His friends complained of the inadequacy of the income, and the Prince protested to his father against its insufficiency; but the latter contended, that added to the £13,000 a year which the Prince received from the duchy of Cornwall, he was amply provided for. Mr. Fox, indeed, who was his personal friend, regarded it as insufficient, and supported an increase of income; but the King was unmoved by expostulation or entreaty. The coalition ministry, with the Duke of Portland at its head, but with Mr. Fox, the efficient Minister, was at this time at the zenith of its power, and the Prince of Wales, though after his introduction to the House of Peers, at first seldom voted, yet favoured the Whig party, not only by his good wishes but by his secret influence.

In forming his establishment, the Prince consulted Mr. Fox, and for him he entertained the most sincere regard. With Mr. Fox, he from

thenceforth formed a permanent friendship. Influenced by his eloquence, and impressed by his arguments and persuasion, he regarded that illustrious statesman as a pattern for his imitation, and esteemed and revered him as the friend of man. Into the amusements and follies of the lighter hours of Mr. Fox, the Prince entered, with a zest which his previous restrictions tended to increase, and those follies and extravagancies, not unfrequently involved him in private broils, or exposed him to public animadversion.

Of Mr. Fox, indeed, as a patriot, a statesman, an orator, and even a minister, no panegyric can be excessive, nor any commendation misplaced. With a bold and commanding eloquence, he advocated the principles of rational and constitutional freedom; with a noble and dignified independence, he resisted the seductions of office and the temptation to a love of power; to an acute and penetrating mind, was added in him, the graces of taste and the charms of a cultivated imagination; with an eagle's wings he soared above the influence of grovelling principles and sordid desires; with a success which has never been surpassed, he maintained with his discrimination, the prerogatives of the Crown, the privileges of Parliament, and the rights of the people; and, to himself he might have applied the words of Terence, "*Homo sum, nil humanum alienum a me puto.*" Yet of the *private* character of Mr. Fox, contending opinions have been entertained. It appears, however, to be indisputa-

ble, that he was guilty of many of the levities and indiscretions which young men of fashion and fortune frequently commit; and that, like them he in consequence experienced those pecuniary vicissitudes which generally indicate extravagance and imprudence. Into these follies and indiscretions the Prince of Wales unfortunately entered, and not possessing at that period, that hold on the public opinion which the parliamentary exertions of Mr. Fox had ensured to him, he participated in all the disgrace incidental to such conduct, without enjoying the counteracting influence of public esteem.

MR. BURKE, the splendid and literary advocate of liberty, and afterwards its public and avowed enemy; and who enjoyed, during life, at first, the well-earned praises of every friend of freedom, and subsequently the censures of every honourable mind; was also, at this time, the friend of the Prince of Wales. "Born with a  
 " vast and comprehensive genius, which he cultivated with the most assiduous industry, he rose  
 " to eminence by his own talents; and the patronage that was conferred on him, reflected as much  
 " honour on the discernment of his patron, as his  
 " own abilities reflected credit on himself." But the conduct of Mr. Burke, in his declining years, veiled the brilliancy of his former reputation, and descending from the meridian of glory, his setting rays were obscured by the clouds of evening, and the tempests of night. Yet his morals were pure, and his conduct regular and free from those impu-

tations which affected the private character of his illustrious friend.

SHERIDAN, the wit, the poet, the dramatist, and the orator; but, the drunkard, the gamester, and the rake, was also the personal friend of the Prince of Wales. To the talents of Sheridan, as an orator, the tributes of admiration and applause have been as numerous as they have been just. Of one of his celebrated speeches, made before the Lords, on the impeachment of Governor Hastings, in June, 1788, Mr. Burke thus exclaimed, “ He  
 “ has this day surprized the thousands, who hung  
 “ with rapture on his accents; by such an array  
 “ of talents, such an exhibition of capacity, such  
 “ a display of powers, as are unparalleled in the  
 “ annals of oratory; a display that reflected the  
 “ highest honour upon himself—lustre upon let-  
 “ ters—renown upon Parliament—glory upon the  
 “ country. Of all species of rhetoric, of every  
 “ kind of eloquence that has been witnessed or  
 “ recorded, either in ancient or modern times;  
 “ whether the acuteness the of bar, the dignity of  
 “ the senate, the solidity of the judgment seat, and  
 “ the sacred morality of the pulpit, have hitherto  
 “ furnished, nothing has equalled what we have  
 “ this day heard in Westminster Hall. No holy  
 “ seer of religion, no sage, no statesman, no ora-  
 “ tor, no man of any literary description whatever,  
 “ has come up in the one instance, to the pure  
 “ sentiments of morality; or in the other, to that  
 “ variety of knowledge, force of imagination,  
 “ propriety and vivacity of allusion, beauty and

“elegance of diction, strength and copiousness of style, pathos and sublimity of conception, to which we have this day listened with ardour and admiration. From poetry up to eloquence, there is not a species of composition of which a compleat and perfect specimen might not, from that single speech be culled and collected.”

And yet Sheridan as a moralist, was as defective in principle as he was incorrect in practice. *Sheridan*, poor, deserted, diseased and wretched, expired in loneliness and misery; and so died not purely as has been alleged, a martyr to his love of liberty, but rather to his vices and licentiousness.

An acquaintanceship, therefore, with Sheridan, whilst it could not fail of improving the judgment, enlivening the fancy and heightening the imagination and wit of the dullest of his associates, yet could not also fail of injuring that high tone of morals with which the heart of a Monarch of a Christian country should be especially inspired. In the amours of Mr. Sheridan, the name of the Prince of Wales was consequently involved, and this circumstance additionally tended to the permanent injury of his character and reputation. Of the Dukes of Bedford, Devonshire, and Portland, the Earls of Cholmondeley, Derby, and Fitzwilliam, or of Lords Moira, Ponsonby, Cravan and Southampton, no especial notice appears necessary to be taken. From any connexion with them he derived little moral benefit or advantage. As descendants of illustrious champions of freedom; or as men of great talents, and acquisitions, they

were fit associates for the heir apparent to the throne of Great Britain, but this assisted but little in encouraging that general penchant for the female sex, which however it may accord with Continental manners, ill accords either with the principles of morality or the opinion and views of the Christian population. Example is unfortunately, as well as fortunately, the school of mankind. The Prince was not yet twenty-four. In three years he had been introduced to circles as dissipated as they were gay, and as immoral as they were dissipated. His personal and mental endowments attracted for him the admiration of women distinguished for rank and virtue, or for duplicity and immorality.

Soon after the termination of his connexion with Mrs. Robinson, the Prince became acquainted with MRS. FITZHERBERT, a widow lady of great accomplishments and beauty, who was niece to Sir Edward Smythe, and sister-in-law to Sir Carnaby Haggerstone. Mrs. Fitzherbert, however, was a Catholic, a woman of small property, and of but indifferent character. To her the Prince was much attached, and his connexion with her was so intimate, and his residence with her so perpetual, that it was confidently asserted that to her he had been married. To the people of Great Britain, this connexion gave great offence. On the Prince of Wales their hopes had been centered, and now they beheld him engaged in amours or in society, which in their estimation reflected little credit on his understanding or his

heart. The celebrated LORD GEORGE GORDON, and JOHN HORNE TOOKE, peculiarly attracted the attention of the country to this affair, the one on his trial, and the other in a pamphlet, and whether true or false, the report met with wide spread and general credence.

Into the private characteristics of such connection it is unnecessary to enter. By it the nation was offended, the King displeased, and the Prince injured in happiness and reputation. Unfortunately indeed, the Prince was either unaware, or unwilling to perceive, the evil consequences of his intimacy with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and consequently he continued, for many years, that connexion, which marriage indeed, did not terminate. In the same year, the nation was overwhelmed by astonishment at the development, that the Prince had incurred debts, to the amount of BETWEEN TWO AND THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS. His creditors became importunate, his father anxious, and to the latter he communicated his situation and required assistance. The King was aware that some considerable debts must have been incurred, but their amount surprised him: and considerably pained at the disclosure, and by the written statements which he received, as to the state of his affairs, he refused to interfere. Mr. Fox now advised retrenchment. The debts which were due were unfortunately of a character which excited but little sympathy. At NEWMARKET a great part of the debts had been incurred. In training

running horses he took great delight, and his stud was universally admired. But now he could proceed no further. Mr. Sheridan recommended an application to Parliament, but Mr. Fox was aware, that unsupported by the recommendation of the King, it would be unattended with success. The opinion of the latter, the Prince, preferred, and immediately reduced his establishment—sold his stud by public auction, for 7000 guineas—and resolved on devoting a large sum every year to the payment of his creditors. This measure, though *expedient*, did not, however, satisfy the English people. They felt that such reduction was degrading, in the eyes of foreign courts, the resources, or the spirit of the nation, and yet they felt that if they consented on this occasion to pay the debts which were incurred, they would establish a precedent, not only for the present, but for all future Princes of Wales. Smarting, therefore, under feelings of mortified pride, and of disappointed hopes, the public expressed in terms, which could not be mistaken, their veneration and disappointment. Nor was his father less grieved: he banished him from his society, refused him acquaintance, reprobated his conduct and even entertained doubts as to whether a marriage had not been contracted between the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert.

The avowed sentiments of George III. naturally tended to increase instead of diminish the agitation of the nation, and the universal feel-

asures which were heaped upon the Prince. For nine months he persevered in his system of œconomy, but he became weary of his project; and after great deliberation, and other ineffectual applications to his father, Mr. Alderman Newnham, a Member for the city of London, a merchant of opulence and respectability, was selected by the Prince, to bring the subject before the House of Commons. In the months of April and May 1787, the subject was brought forward by that gentleman; but MR. PITT, ever anxious to retain his situation, and therefore desirous on the one hand to gratify the reigning Prince, and to ensure the favour of his successor, prevailed on the King to send down a message to Parliament, informing it of the insolvency of his son, stating that he had directed £10,000 per annum to be added to his income; and advising the payment of his debts, and the completion of the works commenced at Carlton House. The recommendation was attended to, and ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-ONE THOUSAND POUNDS were voted to be paid out of the civil list, for the discharge of the debts of the Prince of Wales, and TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS on account of the works at Carlton House.

In the year 1788, the King was precluded from exercising the functions of Royalty by a malady of his mind, and the question of the REGENCY was presented to the consideration of Parliament. The Heir-apparent was deemed to be the proper person to occupy that responsible situation; but

the claim of his RIGHT so to do, which was asserted by Mr. Fox and his other friends, was disputed by Mr. Pitt, and so unpopular was his Royal Highness, and so general were the apprehensions entertained by the nation, as to his assumption of the Royal prerogatives, that even the measures of a Minister distinguished for absurdity, and artfulness of character, for sordidness of motive, and for severity and extravagance of action, were upheld by the people, and were even applauded by the populace. The restoration of the King to health however, rendered the Regency Bill unnecessary, and the Prince was evidently gratified.

Uninstructed by the past, the Prince now again entered into all the expensive and injurious amusements of former years. He encouraged PUGILISTIC SPORTS, and he was consequently accused of vulgar feelings, and of low associations. In the amusement of HORSE RACING he also expended much of time and property, but sacrificed even more of reputation. Mr. Fox and the late Duke of Bedford were his turf companions, and in his racing establishments, and in bona fide matches, he spent a great part of his annual income. His bets were large, and he was a considerable loser. With MRS. FITZHERBERT, the Prince maintained his intimacy, and with LADY JERSEY he also formed a connexion. Of this Lady, much remains to be said in the succeeding pages.

At Carlton House and Brighton, the Prince

spent the greater portion of the few succeeding years, and unfortunately for him, very seldom identified himself with the people whose future Sovereign he was destined to become. There must ever be a wide distinction between the Prince and the people, but just in proportion as that barrier to mutual respect and confidence is removed, will the one rise in reputation, and the other manifest a propriety of conduct. When therefore he appeared in public, he was either received with indifference, or with dislike, and the English who possess not the art of concealing their unfriendliness, frequently developed their feelings in noisy strains of invective and reproach. The private conduct of the Prince unfortunately tended to encrease such sentiments. Although his debts had been paid—his establishment increased—his income enlarged—his palace completed; yet his creditors again became clamorous—his friends continued to be distinguished for their immoral habits—and not unfrequently the public prints announced adventures and occurrences which were as undignified as they were mortifying.

The King, who was a man as moral and virtuous in his habits and associations, as he was naturally averse to splendour and profligacy, was greatly distressed by the rumours which reached his ears, and which pained his heart, and he frequently intimated to Mr. Pitt, his desire that the Heir-apparent to the Throne should enter into the marriage state. Mr. Pitt, naturally keen and cal-

culating, perceived objections even to that measure, and secretly endeavoured rather to persuade to a reduction of the expenditure of the Prince, than to favour his marriage. On one occasion, Mr. Pitt communicated his sentiments to his Majesty, and expressed in terms ill suited to the increasing petulance of the Monarch, his aversion to the project. The measure was as yet undecided, but the King was firm, and the Minister who knew how to differ without offending, and to yield when perseverance in opposition would be unavailing, from that time left the management of the matter entirely to the Royal Family.

The history of the negotiation for the marriage between her Serene Highness the Princess Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, and the Prince of Wales, is neither important or interesting; but the reason for such connexion merits peculiar regard.

It requires but a slight knowledge of the human heart, and of the principles and motives which operate in the formation of character, to enable any one to perceive that the previous habits of the Prince of Wales, were such as naturally to have engendered an aversion to the marriage state. Such aversion he did not hesitate to reveal, and his friends did not endeavour to remove it. For the female sex he indeed professed admiration the most sincere, and friendship the most ardent, but as Sheridan once jocosely said, "The Prince was too much a lady's man, ever to become the man of one lady."

The marriage of the Duke of York did not tend

to remove his objections, and the Prince often declared to an intimate friend, afterwards discarded, that "he would rather forfeit his right to "the Crown, than be plagued with a wife." Nor should such feeling in itself, excite either surprize or animadversion. Habits when of long duration, become principles of action, and how could it be expected that he who had ruled the hearts and persons of some of the most beautiful, and even accomplished of his country-women, could easily bring his mind to enjoy, or even endure, the retired and private joys of domestic and matrimonial life. To Mrs. Fitzherbert, the Prince also was really attached, and she exercised her dominion over his passions and judgment, by presenting to him in fearful array, the horrors of a matrimonial connexion. Yet after marriage, the conduct of this lady, was on the whole, dignified and proper, and the Princess of Wales, habitually spoke of her in friendly terms. That Mrs. Fitzherbert should be unfriendly to the marriage of the Prince, is not at all astonishing. Her dignity, her fortune, her rank, her happiness, would all of course materially suffer by the arrangement, and before therefore she should be censured, it should be recollected that very few would not have so felt and acted. Nor should it be omitted to be recorded, in an impartial narrative of these events, that that lady after the marriage had taken place, though disappointed and chagrined by the circumstance, did not endeavour longer to exercise her influence over her previous acquaintance, and that

although the connexion between her and the Prince was subsequently renewed, it was by his desire, and not at her request.

The King now became increasingly desirous for the marriage of the Prince of Wales. The Duke of York had no issue by his marriage, and it was considered by the Royal Family and the physicians of the Duchess, that issue might not be expected. The King was advancing in years. The Prince was then thirty-two:—and state policy suggested to his Majesty the propriety of providing for the succession.

Unhappily for the Prince, for the Royal Family, and for the nation, the pecuniary circumstances of the Prince of Wales, at this time, compelled him to apply to his father, and to MR. PITT, for further assistance. The former recommended marriage, and the latter did not offer to it any objections. His Majesty had made it a matter of family conversation and correspondence, and in two letters to his sister, the Duchess of Brunswick, he had adverted to the subject. It appears to be indisputable, that the Duchess had, in consequence, conceived some hopes that her daughter might be selected as the Consort of the future King of England, and actually expressed her hopes, to that effect, to a lady of her Court. Yet she apprehended that her brother might object to an alliance between individuals so nearly related, and who had not possessed any opportunities or personal acquaintanceship.

In the year 1794, the Duke of York left this

country to take the command of the British army in Germany, in the war which was then prosecuting against the French Republic. After a trifling success, gained over the enemy, the situation of the allied forces became perilous. Pichegru, bold, intelligent and persevering, successfully opposed the combined efforts of Clairfait, the Prince of Cobourg, and the Duke of York, and the latter was compelled to fly to Antwerp. The ultimate result of the war, it is unnecessary here to record. The British troops were sacrificed—the British character injured—and the British resources expended unnecessarily, and unwisely: and the termination of this expedition was of the most melancholy character.

With his uncle, the Duke of York now became acquainted, and to his Court and family he was introduced. Such introduction was, unhappily, the means of that subsequent alliance, which good and wise men, can never cease to deplore. The accomplishments and personal charms of the Princess Caroline, made impressions of the most favourable nature on the mind of the Duke of York, and those feelings he communicated to the Prince of Wales, and to his father the King.

The preliminary objection which the Prince of Wales had invariably made, when marriage was recommended to him, now appeared to the King to be removed, and he requested the former to be united to the Princess. The requisition was made, at a time, when the resources of the Prince were especially exhausted,—when his

creditors became importunate—when some debts of honour it became necessary to discharge—and when therefore, the prospect of relief, even at any sacrifice, appeared desirable. The portrait of the Princess of Brunswick, which had been shewn to the Prince of Wales, represented a woman of by no means a disagreeable appearance, and the promise of the King, in writing, that on the marriage of the Prince, his debts should be discharged—his income increased—and the favour of his father augmented and secured, additionally operated on his mind in favour of the connexion. With Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan he consulted;—the former advised acquiescence, and the latter was less averse to the alteration. The Prince consented—the negotiations proceeded—an interchange of presents ensued—and a marriage was ultimately consummated which terminated in personal, domestic, and national dissatisfaction.

The first intimation of the intended marriage was conveyed to the public in the speech which his Majesty delivered on the 30th of December, 1794, to both Houses of Parliament, in which he expressed himself in the following manner :

“ I have the greatest satisfaction in announcing  
 “ to you the happy event of the conclusion of a  
 “ treaty of marriage of my son, the Prince of  
 “ Wales with the Princess Caroline, daughter of  
 “ the Duke of Brunswick : the constant proofs of  
 “ your affection for my person and family, per-  
 “ suade me, that you will participate in the senti-  
 “ ments I feel on an occasion so interesting to my

“ domestic happiness ; and that you will enable  
 “ me to make provision for such an establishment,  
 “ as you may think suitable to the rank and dig-  
 “ nity of the Heir-apparent to the Crown of these  
 “ Kingdoms.”

And in their Address to his Majesty, the Commons replied,

“ We cannot sufficiently express the satisfaction  
 “ which all your Majesty’s subjects must derive,  
 “ from the auspicious event of the conclusion of a  
 “ treaty for the marriage of his Royal Highness  
 “ the Prince of Wales, with the Princess Caroline,  
 “ daughter of the Duke of Brunswick ; and that  
 “ participating warmly in the sentiments which  
 “ your Majesty must feel, on an occasion not less  
 “ connected with the interests of your people,  
 “ than with the domestic happiness of your Ma-  
 “ jesty : we shall cheerfully proceed to enable  
 “ your Majesty to make provision for an establish-  
 “ ment suitable to the rank and dignity of the  
 “ Heir-apparent of the Crown of these King-  
 “ doms.”

The particulars of the marriage, have been already recorded, and the consequences of such union have now to be related.

Let it not be forgotten, that the marriage was dictated by state policy on the one hand, and by expedience on the other ; and how it could be expected that an union so cemented could be otherwise than productive, if not of misery, at least of indifference ? The existence of THE ROYAL MARRIAGE ACT in this country is indeed an evil which

all must deplore, and which should be speedily removed. A member of the House of Peers, as elevated for his rank as for his virtues, his attachment to the Constitution and to the principles of civil and religious liberty;\* has proposed the abrogation of the statute: and it is to be regretted, that such measure did not meet with universal approbation. Yet it is deeply to be desired, that he will continue to press upon Parliament the necessity for that repeal, until at least some measure be adopted which shall prevent the injurious and fatal consequences of these cold blooded alliances of Royalty, which are formed on the basis of political connexions, which are established solely on the ground of national aggrandizement, and which bear a character repugnant to every generous and noble sentiment.

\* Lord Holland.

## CHAPTER IV.

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS WHICH TRANSPIRED FROM 1795 TO 1800, INCLUDING PARTICULARS OF QUARRELS OF THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES—THEIR SEPARATION—AND CORRESPONDENCE—BIRTH OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—HER EDUCATION, ETC.—PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

TO every mind rightly constituted, the developments of this chapter will be painful and distressing. The contrast of happiness and misery, of prosperity and adversity, of sunshine and of tempest, can never be regarded but with emotions of sorrow and regret. Yet without such developments were made and such contrast was presented, History would often be garbled and inaccurate, and this Memoir would be unquestionably incomplete. The task has, indeed, been arduous, and has been no less painful. Witnesses have been examined—the correspondence of several individuals has been carefully perused—the papers of the departed have been investigated—and the result is presented. Unnecessary detail has been avoided, because an improper curiosity ought not to be gratified, and justice should be invariably done to the party who is not heard.

It will be recollected, that in the narrative already presented,\* of the early life of the Princess

\* Chapter II.

of Brunswick, the conduct of LADY JERSEY after the introduction of the Prince of Wales to his intended Consort, has been proved not only to have been wicked, but injurious. To her previous conduct and situation it will, however, be necessary to refer. It has been previously shewn, that the Subject of these Memoirs was not selected by the Prince of Wales, but by his father for him; and that the King refused to recommend the payment of the debts of his son, unless to the Princess of Brunswick he consented to be married. Yet he did consent, and having consented, he should have felt bound by the arrangement.

That he did not so feel was alleged by her late Majesty, who declared, that George III. had informed her, that the late Duke of Gloucester in a conversation, positively stated, “that an arrangement was made with Lord Carlisle, to give up Lady Jersey to the Prince,—that this was agreed to at Rochester when Lady Jersey first set out to meet the Princess of Wales; and, that there was an understanding, that she should be always the object of his affections.” This was the statement of her Majesty. The Duke of Gloucester is dead, and the *direct* method of ascertaining its accuracy cannot, therefore, be resorted to. But his son survives him, and to him applications have been made. He has stated, “that the full and perfect conviction on his Royal Highness’s mind is, that his father never was party to such a conversation.” But the conviction of his mind only amounts to an opinion, however well founded; and

an opinion cannot be opposed to a direct and positive declaration. If that declaration was *untrue*, then the moral weight of all her late Majesty's declarations would be destroyed; but, before her testimony should be wholly rejected, it would be absolutely necessary to prove that she was not worthy of credit. That the conversation did take place ought not, therefore, to be denied, even if it should be questioned. And it should not be forgotten, that it is not only not impossible, but that it is not even improbable that it did occur, and that such arrangement was made; because every subsequent fact in the history of the Prince and Princess of Wales, for the next few years, demonstrates the connexion which subsisted between the former and Lady Jersey.

If this arrangement really did take place, then the subsequent conduct of Lady Jersey can be more easily accounted for, and her familiarity with the Prince of Wales appears yet more objectionable and improper. If it did not take place, then how unaccountable is the conduct of Lady J. in venturing to step forward and intrude on the ears of a Prince, falsehoods which would tend to create permanent distrust and want of affection on the part of the Prince for his Consort, when by such result Lady J. could not expect to derive any advantage. The inference, therefore, must be this, that the arrangement referred to, *was made*; and that the interference of Lady J. was as interested and sordid as it was malicious.

The marriage of the Prince and Princess of

Wales had not occurred many days, when the latter was informed, that Lady Jersey had been on terms of intimacy with the Prince—that she had endeavoured to poison his mind against her, by false and injurious statements,—and “that Lady J. was the real wife, and the Princess of Wales only the nominal one.” Every day demonstrated to her that such information was correct, and she avowed to the Prince the dislike she entertained to her Ladyship. That avowal he received with considerable displeasure, and professed for the Princess the most sincere friendship. But a few words of mutual explanation at that time, resumed the difference.

At length, the conduct of Lady Jersey became more marked—she did not conceal her aversion for the Princess—she endeavoured as much as possible to impair the domestic society of the Prince—and incessant and noisy reproaches had commenced. The first quarrel which occurred between these illustrious individuals, took place one day when in conversing on the subject, she suggested her intention of retiring to the villa Lady Jersey when the Prince was not present: and soon at any time, to converse with her. The Prince answered on a different line of conduct. He required her to leave Lady J. as he feared—in the villa her at all times—and to converse with her as with the rest of her ladies. The Princess, on the other hand, in answer to this, and in animated tone, informed him of the character of Lady J. and required her dismissal. The Prince, on the last

refused to accede to the wishes of the Princess, and he left her at Carlton House some time, angry at her refusal and her conduct. But who can censure the Princess of Wales for refusing the society and the conversation of a woman who was her greatest enemy, and who had endeavoured to effect her misery and ruin?

To the King, the Princess now applied—she explained to him the causes of her unhappiness—and the conduct of Lady J.—and she represented her situation as a solitary, traduced, and miserable woman, aggravated especially by her delicate situation. The King interfered—effected a reconciliation—and prevailed on the Prince to give up Lady J. and direct that she should no more come into waiting. Part of that engagement was fulfilled; but to Lady J. the Prince was too much attached wholly to abandon her. The marriage bed, which had been forsaken during the absence of the Prince, was now, however, left no longer; and hopes were cherished by the King, that happiness might be restored.

On receiving the communication of their mutual unhappiness, the King was much concerned, and evinced his grief by conduct the most prompt and energetic, yet kind and affectionate. In addition to these troubles, he had been and continued to be greatly harassed by the question of the Prince of Wales's debts, which had been brought before Parliament; and this proceeding had given great uneasiness to the mind of the Princess. Scarcely had the marriage been consummated,

when the subject was agitated throughout the country, and the union was publicly designated as “unwise, impolitic, absurd, and ruinous.” The character of her husband she saw aspersed in the public Journals, and his friends and associates designated by epithets, as wounding to her pride as they were unnecessary and unkind.

On the 27th of April, 1795, the King, pursuant to his engagement with his son, sent to both Houses of Parliament a Message, stating his reliance on their loyalty and affection, for enabling him to settle an establishment on the Prince and his august Bride, suited to their rank and dignity; that the benefit of any settlement then to be made could not be effectually secured to the Prince, till he was relieved from his present incumbrances to a large amount; but that his Majesty did not propose to his Parliament any other means of providing for that object, than the application of a part of the income that might be settled on the Prince, and the appropriation, for a certain time, of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall; declaring his readiness to concur in any plan of establishing a proper and regular arrangement in the Prince’s future expenditure, and of guarding against the possibility of his being again involved.

This suggestion naturally reminded the House, that, on the former occasion, only eight years before, it was distinctly stated, that “his Majesty “had received, from his Royal Highness the “strongest assurances that no such embarrassment “should again occur.” Accordingly, when Mr.

Pitt moved for a Committee to consider of the King's message, Colonel Stanley moved for reading the address to the House on the 24th of May, 1787; and after an animated discussion, the debate was adjourned.

On the 14th of May, the further consideration of the Prince's debts was resumed. Mr. Pitt stated the necessity of an additional establishment on account of the marriage of the Prince, and a jointure for her Royal Highness. These were the only objects to which he directed the consideration of the Committee. The income of the Prince was then £60,000 a-year, exclusive of the Duchy of Cornwall, which was about £13,000 per annum. Fifty years ago, his grandfather, then Prince of Wales, possessed a net income of £100,000 per annum, in addition to the Duchy of Cornwall. Eighty years ago, his great grandfather, then Prince of Wales, had £100,000, without that Duchy, and from a review of those establishments, the House would see that his Royal Highness ought to have a considerable addition, even if he was not encumbered with debt. The difference of expense, between the former period and the present time, amounted, he thought, to at least one-fourth of the whole income. He therefore proposed that the income of his Royal Highness should be £125,000 per annum, exclusive of the Duchy of Cornwall. This was no more, he thought, than the Committee would be disposed to allow to the Prince, on the event of a marriage which they approved and rejoiced in. Here, he said,

rested the present question : with respect to regulations to be made hereafter, he should state the preparations for the marriage at £27,000, or £28,000, for jewels and plate, and £26,000 for finishing Carlton House. The jointure of the Princess to be £50,000 a year. The debts of his Royal Highness, which were for future consideration, he stated at nearly £630,000, up to the last April quarter; besides which, there were some debts in which he was security for his brother; but, from their meritorious exertions, such debts were in such a train of liquidation, and a course of punctual discharge, that there was no fear of their becoming burdensome to the public. He wished to take the sense of the House on the best mode of freeing his Royal Highness from his encumbrances, and was convinced, that, before the House should take any step for their liquidation, they ought to be clearly stated for accurate investigation; and for this purpose he wished to know whether the House would prefer a secret Committee, which was the most expeditious mode, or whether they would leave the whole to be settled under a legislative provision. Whatever mode was adopted, it was necessary that regard should be had to a provision against contracting debts in future. It was, he thought, necessary that Parliament, should mark the sense they entertained of the manner in which his Royal Highness had incurred his present embarrassments; and in that view, the liquidation of the debt might properly be a tax on the affluence of the Prince. He should

therefore, in a future stage of this proceeding, propose certain provisions for liquidating the debts out of the Duchy of Cornwall, and the other income of his Royal Highness, certain parts of which, should be vested in the hands of Commissioners, to discharge the debt and interest at four per cent., except such as bore legal interest at five. For this purpose he proposed £25,000 a-year should be set apart, which would discharge the debt in about twenty-seven years. In case of the demise of the Prince of Wales within that time, £25,000 would be charged annually on that succession; but in the event of the demise of the Crown and of his Royal Highness within that time, the burden must fall on the consolidated fund. There were, he said, two heads to be attended to in the business under consideration—the punctual payment of the debts already contracted—and that no further debts should be incurred. For this purpose, no arrear should, on any pretence, go beyond the quarter,—that debts not then claimed should wholly lapse,—that debts thus claimed should be punctually paid, and no other. Mr. Pitt further proposed to invest Carlton House in the Crown for ever, that the furniture should be considered as an heirloom; and that all suits, for recovery of debts, from his Royal Highness, should lie against his officers. He concluded by moving, that his Majesty be enabled to appropriate £65,000 annually, as an establishment for the Prince of Wales. To the propositions of Mr. Pitt many objections were made, but ultimately

the annual income—the expenses of repairing Carlton House, and attending the marriage, were voted.

On May 28th, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice of his intention to move, that part of the income should be devoted to the liquidation of the debts. This intimation produced, on the 1st of June, a message from the Prince of Wales, which was brought down by Mr. Anstruther, and stated that his Royal Highness was desirous to acquiesce in whatever might be the sentiments of the House, both with respect to his future expenditure, and the appropriation of any part of the income they might grant him, for the discharge of his debts: his wish was entirely to consult the wisdom of Parliament. He was perfectly disposed to acquiesce in any abatement of splendour they might judge necessary; and desired to have nothing but what the country might be cordially disposed to think he ought to have; in fine, that whatever measures were taken by Parliament, would meet with his hearty concurrence. This measure was countenanced by the Princess, who declared herself willing to sacrifice any comfort and enjoyment, for the purpose of enabling his Royal Highness to discharge his debts, and to afford pleasure to “the good people of England.”

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved, that a Committee should be appointed, to bring in a Bill relative to a general regulation of the expenditure of his Royal Highness, and an appropriation of part of his income for the discharge

of his debts. This proposition was discussed with much warmth of feeling and party spirit, but it was carried by a large majority.

On the 5th of June, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought up an account of the proceeds of the Duchy of Cornwall during the minority of the Prince of Wales, an abstract of the debts,\* and an account of the application of £25,000 for finishing Carlton House. He then stated, that, previous to the question of what proportion of the Prince's income should be set apart for the payment of his debts, it was necessary for the House to ascertain whether they would incur the contingent risk of defraying such portion of those debts as should be unpaid in the event of the demise of his Royal Highness. It was his intention to move in the Committee, that £65,000 with the income of the Duchy of Cornwall, should be set apart for the liquidation of the debts, making an annual sum of £78,000. The burden could not be thrown upon the civil list, which, in the event of the demise of the Prince, would be charged with the jointure of the Princess. He should therefore move, that the

* Debts on various securities, and bearing interest	500,571	19	1
Amount of tradesmen's bills-unpaid . . . .	89,745	0	0
Tradesmen's bills, and arrears of establishment			
from the 10th of October 1794, to April 5, 1795	52,573	5	3
Total	£639,890	4	4

The several sums paid from the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, during the minority of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, from the 21st of July, 1763, to the 7th of May, 1783, amounted to £233,764 11s. 2d.

Committee have a discretionary power to provide, out of the hereditary revenue of the Crown (in case of the demise of his present Majesty) during the life of his Royal Highness, for the payment of his debts; and, in case of the demise of the Prince, to provide out of the consolidated fund, for the payment of such sums as should then remain unpaid. He explained, that for several reigns it had been thought proper to commute the hereditary revenue for a civil list. The mode he proposed, was the only one calculated to give security to the creditors, or, in the event of an accession to the Throne, to render his Royal Highness responsible for the payment of his remaining debts.

Subsequent to these proceedings, "a Bill for preventing future Princes of Wales from incurring debts," was brought into Parliament by Sir W. Pulteney: another Bill was also introduced for granting an establishment to his Royal Highness; and a third for granting a jointure to the Princess of Wales, and on June 26th they were passed. The discussions which occurred during these proceedings were peculiarly painful to the mind of the Princess, and she frequently said, "she would rather live on bread and water in a cottage, than have the affairs and conduct of the Royal Family, and of her husband, so investigated and censured." No individual could entertain more rigid sentiments than the Princess, as to the rights and dignity of Royalty, and she was therefore proportionately pained by all those discussions.

In the course of the debates which occurred, the Duke of Clarence, in the House of Lords, stated, that it was a matter of public notoriety, that when the Prince's marriage was agreed upon, there was a stipulation that he should, in the event of that union, be exonerated from his debts; and speaking of the Princess, he described her as "a lovely and amiable woman, torn from her family; for though," he continued, "her mother is the King's sister, she may still be said to be torn from her family, by being removed from all her early connexions. What must be her feelings from such circumstances, attendant on her reception in a country where she had a right to expect every thing befitting her high rank, and the exalted station to which she was called?"

Prevailed on by the Princess of Wales, by his father and his best friends, as well as impressed with the importance and necessity of the measure, the Prince of Wales now reduced his establishment, but retained the Marchioness of Townshend, the COUNTESSSES OF JERSEY, Carnarvon, and Cholmondeley. The Princess requested only the discharge of one of their number, but the favour was refused.

The Princess now spent much of her time in privacy. She wrote many letters, read a great deal, and from frugal and prudential motives, seldom appeared in public. She visited the winter theatres only twice, and now and then made her appearance at the opera. It was not, however, solely owing to these economical arrangements,

that the Princess of Wales lived so much retired. Whatever appearance of levity and gaiety of manners she might have seen indulged at her father's court, in that country, as at present in Scotland, it was not deemed quite decent for a female to appear much in public, after it became known that she was advanced in pregnancy, which was the case with her Royal Highness soon after her marriage.

Although the acquaintance of the Prince with Mrs. Fitzherbert should now have been abandoned, that intimacy began to revive. The friendship was certainly not so peculiar, but a large pension was allowed her—a mansion in Park Lane was fitted up and furnished for her—visits were often paid to her—and the Princess was aware of all these facts, and every hour deplored them. This continued intimacy was proved by Mr. Jefferys, and it gave great offence.

The facts at this period of her Royal Highness's life, are not chronologically arranged, but the history of different events is conducted alternately and to some precise circumstance which connects them.

Soon after the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Prayer for the Royal Family was altered, to introduce the name of the Princess of Wales; this was done at the wish of the King, and as a mark of respect to the family of his sister.

The situation of the Princess became daily more distressing. Her accouchement was speedily

expected. The Prince spent but little time with her. Mrs. Fitzherbert was revisited and recarressed—the Queen was averse to her daughter-in-law, and studied not her happiness or comfort. In England she was a foreigner. Her domestics were unfaithful and wicked. The style and splendour in which she was led to expect that she would live, fell infinitely short of her just expectations—and the character and conduct of her husband was the subject of daily animadversion. But yet the King displayed the greatest kindness to her. Her health, safety, and happiness, he particularly desired, and by letters, by personal visits, and by enquiries, he evinced his anxiety and affection. During the same period, however, she was seldom visited by the Queen, or the Princesses, and she never received that advice from the one, or condolence and sympathy from the others, which she had a right to anticipate, and which she unquestionably desired.

The following extract from a letter, written to a German friend, at this period, deserves to be recorded. It is dated 1st December, 1795.

“ I expect speedily to be the mother of an  
 “ infant. I know not how I shall be able to  
 “ support myself in the hour of solitude, but  
 “ I trust in the benevolence of Heaven. The  
 “ Queen seldom visits me, and my sisters-in-  
 “ law are equally attentive! Yet the English  
 “ character I admire, and when I appear in  
 “ public, nothing can be more flattering than the  
 “ reception which I meet with. I was much

“ gratified some time ago with a visit to one  
 “ of the principal theatres. The spectacle was  
 “ imposing, and when the audience rose to sing  
 “ the National Anthem, I thought I had never  
 “ witnessed any thing so grand before. Yet why  
 “ do I tell you of these things. I am sur-  
 “ rounded with miserable and evil principles :  
 “ and whatever I attempt is misrepresented. The  
 “ Countess still continues here. I hate her, and  
 “ I am confident that she does me no less. My  
 “ husband is very partial to her, and so the  
 “ rest you will be able to divine. They tell me  
 “ I shall have a girl. The Prince wants a boy, but  
 “ I do not care which. By the laws of Eng-  
 “ land the parents have but little to do with it  
 “ in future life. This I shudder at very greatly.  
 “ I suppose you have seen the English papers.  
 “ Think my dear ———, how much the daugh-  
 “ ter of the Duke of Brunswick must have felt.”

The Princess of Wales was now apprized of  
 the renewal of intimacy between the Prince and  
 Mrs. Fitzherbert, but to the latter she never com-  
 municated on the subject. Yet the statements of  
 Mr. Jefferys in his memorable letters to Mrs. Fitz-  
 herbert, and to the Prince of Wales, have neither  
 overstated, on the one hand, the intimacy of the  
 Prince with her, nor on the other, the feelings of  
 dissatisfaction and disgust which it excited. In  
 his letter to Mrs. Fitzherbert, is the following ex-  
 tract :

“ When the Prince of Wales was married to  
 “ the Princess, it was agreed that you should re-

“ tire from that *intimacy of friendship* you had so long enjoyed, and your houses in Pall-mall, and at Brighton, were given up accordingly.

“ However creditable, prospectively, to your character, that you did retire to the villa purchased for you at Castlebear, yet, viewed in a *retrospective* light, the *necessity* of such a retreat, (accompanied, as it was, by a pension of several thousands per annum, payable quarterly at an eminent banker's, and a retention of the very valuable jewels, plate, &c. &c. given to you by the Prince,) did not, in the opinion of the world, add much good fame to your reputation.

“ Had you continued in the retirement expected of you, the world would probably never have disturbed you in the enjoyment of your great possessions, by any reflections upon the mode of their acquisition; but, not long after the Prince of Wales was married, his Royal Highness discontinued to live with the Princess, and returned to your society, in which he was eagerly received!!!

“ On this unexpected renewal of *intimacy*, an establishment, upon a still larger scale, was formed for you; a noble house in Park-lane, most magnificently fitted up, and superbly furnished; a large retinue of servants; carriages of various descriptions; a new pavilion, built for your *separate* residence at Brighton; and the Prince more frequently in your society than ever!!!

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“ When, Madam, your friends pretend that  
 “ *your* feelings are hurt, let me ask you (and them)  
 “ if you think the people of moral character in  
 “ this country have no feelings? I am sure they  
 “ must relinquish all claim to any, if they could  
 “ view, with indifference, such a departure from  
 “ decency as this conduct exhibits in you, and  
 “ not see, with anxiety and fear for the future,  
 “ the probable result of such a dreadful infatua-  
 “ tion;—not less dangerous to the future interest  
 “ of this country, than any that was ever experi-  
 “ enced at the profligate Court of *Versailles*.

“ Let no more be said, then, of *your* feelings,  
 “ but consider the *poignant feelings* of the much-  
 “ to-be-pitied Princess of Wales.”

And in the letter to his Royal Highness, the same writer says :

“ I shall not, however, Sir, so easily pass over  
 “ your renewal of the connexion you had agreed  
 “ to abandon, with a lady, whose society (from her  
 “ equivocal character) one part of the fashionable  
 “ world thinks it their duty to avoid, while the  
 “ other, more *polite*, in compliance with the ex-  
 “ pectation of your Royal Highness, (as a tribute  
 “ of respect to yourself, that the lady should be of  
 “ every party where you are invited,) sacrifice  
 “ their sense of decorum to their vanity; while  
 “ your Royal Highness, who can exact such a con-  
 “ cession, as the price of your company, or tri-  
 “ bute to your rank, does not manifest that regard  
 “ to the opinion of the nation which they have a  
 “ right to expect.

“ The defiance to public opinion in the departure from decency, which the conduct of the lady alluded to exhibits, since the marriage of your Royal Highness, is such as cannot be reprobated with too much severity, and is very justly appreciated by the public, by whom her name is never mentioned unaccompanied with expressions of the greatest contempt.

“ The forlorn and hapless female, compelled to seek refuge from famine and despair in resources which her aching heart condemns, claims at once the pity and forgiveness of the world.”

On the conduct of Mrs. Fitzherbert, Mr. Jefferys expressed himself too strongly, since it would have been expecting too much from her, to have required that when solicited by the Prince of Wales to renew their intimacy, and when visited by him, that she should refuse so to do. That the Prince required, that Mrs. Fitzherbert should be one of every party to which he was invited, is undeniably true, and that he quitted two parties where she was not so present, much displeased, was stated by the subject of these Memoirs to have taken place.

This conduct and these measures were disapproved and *reprobated* by the Princess of Wales. She expostulated, but her expostulations were disregarded. Her disapprobation was ridiculed as foolish; and it was urged, “ you cannot expect that the Prince should renounce his friends.” The conduct of Queen Charlotte as to this subject, gave her much pain. She vindicated in the

Court circles, the conduct of her son—expressed doubts as to the moral character of the Princess, to a member of the Royal Family, now departed—and instead of being anxious to hush the jarring elements of discord into peace, she only increased dissatisfaction by her unwise and improper interference. The Princess of Wales, on the other hand, was perhaps nearly equally faulty. She studied not to conceal her resentment and dislike. She paid a marked difference to the King and Queen; the former she caressed as her father, whilst the latter she received with stiffness and Court etiquette. Nor did she stop here; for the conduct of her Majesty, she denounced to Lady Jersey, and her denunciations were repeated to the Queen.

The Prince now frequently absented himself from Carlton House, and the Princess of Wales, who had been accustomed at the Court of her father, to observe conduct so different, was alternately surprized and chagrined. Her surprise she communicated to the Prince in writing, and her chagrin to LORD CHOLMONDELEY, of whose gentlemanly conduct and correct deportment she always spoke in terms of commendation.

Yet it must be admitted, that the Prince was occasionally kind and considerate to her Royal Highness, and uniformly directed, that whatever she desired, previous to, or at her approaching accouchement should be obtained. It has been contended, that this is all she had a right to expect, and, indeed, all she should have required; but, aware that she had never committed any act

to warrant the dislike and aversion of the Prince, she felt that, as his Consort, no less illustrious for rank than for her personal and mental endowments, she ought to have been favoured with his society and protection : and above all, that neither Lady Jersey nor Mrs. Fitzherbert should be then encouraged, fostered, and patronized.

During these proceedings, the King continued to manifest for her the greatest kindness—frequently visited her—sent her presents—wrote to her—and, in fine, uniformly displayed that line of conduct which became him as her uncle and her father. These proofs of affection, and marks of kindness she always acknowledged; and many of his letters she preserved till a few days previous to her decease, and even some of them are now extant.

But the period of her accouchement now drew near, and her anxieties increased, in proportion as the event approached.

In the latter end of December, 1795, orders were issued to the Cabinet Ministers and other personages, whose attendance is prescribed on the birth of a Royal Child, to hold themselves in readiness; and on the 7th of January, 1796, at ten in the morning, the Princess of Wales was safely delivered of a daughter, and the accouchement was conducted with the most solemn formalities. The personages present at the birth, were the Duke of Gloucester, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council, the Duke of Leeds, the Lord Cham-

berlain, Earl Cholmondeley, Lord Thurlow, and the Ladies of the Princess of Wales's Bed-chamber; the Prince of Wales was present on this interesting and important occasion.

The young Princess was Christened according to the forms of the Church of England, and received the name of Charlotte Augusta, the former being the name of the Queen, the latter of her mother. The Christening was solemnized on Thursday evening, the 11th of February, 1796, in the great drawing-room, at St. James's, by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Sponsors were their Majesties in person, and her Royal Highness the Duchess of Brunswick, represented by her Royal Highness the Princess Mary.

The birth of the Princess Charlotte created universal satisfaction. The Addresses of congratulation were warm and numerous.

The Poet Laureat, in his New Year's Ode for that year, alluded to this auspicious circumstance in the following lines :

“ Now strike a livelier chord—the happy day,  
     Selected from the circling year  
 To celebrate a name to Britain dear,  
 From Britain's sons demands a festive lay.  
 Mild sov'reign of our monarch's soul,  
 Whose eye's meek radiance can controul  
 The powers of care, and grace a throne,  
 Each calm to life domestic known;  
 Propitious Heaven has o'er thy head,  
 Blossoms of richer fragrance shed;  
 Than all the assiduous muse can bring,  
 Cull'd from the honey'd stores of Spring :

For see, amid wild Winter's hours,  
 A bud its silken folds display,  
 Sweeter than all the chalic'd flowers,  
 That crown thine own ambrosial May.  
 O may thy smiles, blest infant, prove  
 Omens of concord, and of love!  
 Bid the loud strains of martial triumph cease,  
 And tune to softer mood the warbling reed of peace."

The Prince of Wales having reduced his establishment, declined receiving the congratulatory address of the City of London. That measure excited considerable feeling, and much animadversion. It has been said, that the Princess of Wales was displeased by the refusal of the Prince, and wished him to adopt a different course. But this is incorrect, the Princess was not consulted on the subject, and if she had been, she would have recommended every plan favourable to œconomy and retrenchment.

During the period of the restoration of the Princess of Wales, the enquiries of his Majesty were very kind and frequent. The Prince manifested considerable pleasure at the birth of his daughter; frequently visited his Royal Consort, and made inquiries as to the health of herself and infant. But even during this period domestic feuds occurred, and the anticipations of friends, and the desires of the nation were frustrated and destroyed. *Mutual confidence and affection*, which are essential to happiness in the marriage state, they did not feel or possess, and it necessarily followed, that every trivial circumstance

was magnified into importance by the previous state of their minds.

Soon after the marriage of the Prince and Princess, a circumstance occurred, which has not been referred to in chronological order, and which excited the indignation of the Princess towards Lady Jersey, and tended additionally to develop the feelings of the Queen towards her Royal Highness. In the month of August, 1795, whilst residing at Brighton, the Princess committed to the care of Dr. Randolph, a packet of letters to convey to Brunswick, as he expressed his intention of visiting Germany. Those letters were private and confidential; they contained strictures on the character of the Queen, and one of them had been imprudently laid about by her Royal Highness after she had written it. That letter was perused by Lady Jersey, and to the Queen she determined to convey it, with those which constituted the remainder of the packet. The letters never reached their destination, and were afterwards possessed by Queen Charlotte. How are those circumstances to be accounted for? The Princess of Wales repeatedly stated that she knew those letters were intercepted by the Countess of Jersey, and delivered by her to the Queen. Lady Jersey denied the charge; she contended that she had no concern with the packet, and that to Dr. Randolph alone all blame must attach. He in his turn exculpated himself from the charge, and gave a statement to Lady Jersey of all the circumstances; maintaining, that not visiting

Brunswick, he had returned the packet by coach to the Princess. The Princess expressed herself indignant at the loss, and required an explanation. Inquiries and investigation ensued, but it was not for some time after the charge was made, nor until the public newspapers accused her of treachery, deceit, and embezzlement, that Lady Jersey endeavoured to clear her character from such imputations; and at length she addressed privately to Dr. Randolph the following letter.

*Pall Mall.*

“ The newspapers being full of accusations of  
 “ my having opened a letter either to, or from,  
 “ her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and  
 “ as I cannot in any way account for what can  
 “ have given rise to such a story, excepting the  
 “ loss of those letters, with which you were in-  
 “ trusted last summer, I must intreat that you  
 “ will state the whole transaction, and publish the  
 “ accounts in the newspapers you may think fit.  
 “ Her Royal Highness having told me, at the time  
 “ when my inquiries at Brighton, and yours in  
 “ London, proved ineffectual, that she did not  
 “ care about the letters, they being only letters  
 “ of form; the whole business made so little im-  
 “ pression on me, that I do not even recollect in  
 “ what month I had the pleasure of seeing you at  
 “ Brighton. I think you will agree with me, that  
 “ defending myself from the charge of opening a  
 “ letter is pretty much the same thing as if I was  
 “ to prove that I had not picked a pocket; yet

“ in this case, I believe, it may be of some use to  
 “ shew upon what grounds so extraordinary a  
 “ calumny is founded. As I cannot wish to leave  
 “ any mystery upon this affair, you are at liberty  
 “ to publish this letter, if you think proper to  
 “ do so.”

To this application Dr. Randolph paid no attention; but as the subject attracted public notice and became a subject of universal reprobation, Lord Jersey addressed to Dr. Randolph another letter.

Sir,

“ Lady Jersey wrote to you early in the last  
 “ week, requesting that a full statement from you,  
 “ of all that had passed relating to the packet of  
 “ letters belonging to her Royal Highness the  
 “ Princess of Wales, might appear in public print.  
 “ To that letter she has received no answer from  
 “ you; nor have I learned that any such publica-  
 “ tion has appeared. The delay I have been  
 “ willing to attribute to accident. But it now  
 “ becomes my duty to call upon you, and I do  
 “ require it of you, that an explicit narrative may  
 “ be laid before the public; it is a justice she is  
 “ entitled to, a justice Lady Jersey’s character  
 “ claims, and which she has, and which you have  
 “ acknowledged she has, a right to demand at  
 “ your hands.

“ Your silence upon this occasion I shall con-  
 “ sider as countenancing that calumny which the

“ false representations of the business have so  
 “ shamefully and unjustly drawn upon Lady  
 “ Jersey.

I am, &c.

In consequence of this further application, Dr. Randolph, in a few days, wrote to Lady Jersey, in which, after prefatory matter, he gave her permission to make the following statement public.

“ I need not recal to your ladyship’s recol-  
 “ lection, the interview I had with the Princess at  
 “ Brighton, when she delivered to me the packet  
 “ in question ; all her attendants in waiting were,  
 “ I believe, present, and the conversation gene-  
 “ rally turned upon the various branches of her  
 “ august family, and the alteration I should find  
 “ in them after an absence of ten years. This  
 “ interview, if I am not mistaken, took place on  
 “ the 13th of August, and after waiting, by her  
 “ Royal Highness’s desire, till the 14th, when the  
 “ Prince was expected from Windsor, to know  
 “ if he had any commands to honour me with ; I  
 “ had no sooner received from Mr. Churchill his  
 “ Royal Highness’s answer, than I departed from  
 “ London with the intention of proceeding to  
 “ Yarmouth. On my arrival in town, finding  
 “ some very unpleasant accounts of the state  
 “ of Mrs. R.’s health, I took the liberty of sig-  
 “ nifying the occurrence to her Royal Highness ;  
 “ annexing to it, at the same time, a wish to  
 “ defer my journey for the present, and that her

“ Royal Highness would permit me to return the  
 “ packet, or allow me to consign it to the care of  
 “ a friend, who was going into Germany, and  
 “ would see it safely delivered. To this I re-  
 “ ceived, through your Lordship, a most gracious  
 “ message from her Royal Highness, requesting  
 “ me by all means to lay aside my intentions, and  
 “ to return the packet. In consequence of such  
 “ orders, I immediately went to Carlton House to  
 “ inform myself by what conveyance the letters  
 “ and parcels were usually sent to Brighton, and  
 “ was told that no servant was employed, but  
 “ that every day they were, together with the  
 “ newspapers, committed to the charge of the  
 “ Brighton post-coach from the Golden-cross,  
 “ Charing-cross.

“ On the subsequent morning, therefore, I at-  
 “ tended at the Golden-cross, previous to the  
 “ departure of the coach, and having first seen it  
 “ regularly booked, delivered my parcel, inclosing  
 “ the Princess’s packet, addressed to your lady-  
 “ ship at the Pavilion. Immediately afterwards  
 “ I set out for Bath, and had scarcely been a  
 “ fortnight at home, when to my great surprise  
 “ and mortification, I received the following letter  
 “ from your ladyship, dated Brighton, Septem-  
 “ ber 1st:

“ In consequence of your letter, I had her  
 “ Royal Highness the Princess of Wales’s com-  
 “ mands to desire, that as you did not go to

“ Brunswick, you should return the packet which  
 “ she had given you. I wrote accordingly about  
 “ a fortnight ago. Her Royal Highness not  
 “ having received the packet, is uneasy about it,  
 “ and desires you to inform me how you sent the  
 “ letters to her, and where they were directed.  
 “ If left at Carlton House, pray call there, and  
 “ make some inquiries respecting them.

“ I am, &c.”

To this letter Dr. Randolph, thus replied :

“ I know not when I have been more seriously  
 “ concerned than at the receipt of your Lady-  
 “ ship’s letter, which was forwarded to me this  
 “ morning.

“ The morning I left town, which was on the  
 “ 20th of August, I went to the Brighton post-  
 “ coach, which I was told at Carlton House was  
 “ the usual conveyance of the Princess’s papers  
 “ and packets, and booked a parcel addressed to  
 “ your Ladyship at the Pavilion, inclosing the  
 “ letters of her Royal Highness. I have sent to  
 “ a friend in London by this night’s post, to trace  
 “ the business, and will request your Ladyship  
 “ to let your servants call at the Ship, the inn I  
 “ believe the coach drives to at Brighton, to make  
 “ inquiry there, and to examine the bill of parcels  
 “ for Thursday the 20th August. If this prove  
 “ not successful, I shall hold it my duty to return  
 “ to town, and pursue the discovery myself. I  
 “ shall not be easy till the packet is delivered

“safe; and trusting that this will soon be the  
“ case,

“ I remain, &c.”


*Bath, September 4th, 1795.*

The apparent quarrel between Dr. Randolph and Lord Jersey, was always stated by the subject of these Memoirs, to have been merely a shallow manœuvre to exonerate each other, and above all Lady Jersey. That she or some one by her authority conveyed them to the Queen, is indisputable, since observations which they contained, were subsequently mentioned by her, and retailed to the Royal Family, and to many persons connected with the Court. It was the opinion of the Princess of Wales, that Lady Jersey was the chief instrument in this transaction, and believed either that she received the packet from Dr. Randolph, prior to his quitting Brighton, or directed him to transmit it under cover to the Queen.

The Prince on this occasion vindicated the characters of Lady Jersey and Dr. Randolph—stated that, in his opinion, his mother would not have been a party to conduct so improper, and finally blamed the Princess for writing what she would object to any person perusing. That it would have been most wise, and prudent, and delicate for her Royal Highness to have concealed, at that time, her sentiments, and on that subject, even from her friends, there can be no doubt, but that the conduct of Lady Jersey, the Queen, and even of Dr.

Randolph was highly reprehensible appears to be equally manifest. The fact, when developed, tended greatly to increase the affection evinced for her Royal Highness, by the people, and was received with general and just disapprobation.

But to return to the narrative of the situation of the Prince and Princess of Wales. The result of their quarrels previous and subsequent to her accouchement, was neither magical nor singular; mutual distrust, dissatisfaction, and want of affection, were naturally succeeded by indifference and disgust. The Prince loved society, and did not love his home. He loved Mrs. Fitzherbert, and did not love his Consort. He had not selected her for his wife, and the worthless and interested had vilified her. She was unsuited to the Prince, and she soon discovered the fact; she was open and ingenuous, and so was the Prince; they neither concealed their dislikes, but the one was well, and the other ill founded; the one was the result of unkindness, justifiable jealousy, neglect and misrepresentation; the other resulted from the previous dislike of the Prince to marriage; from his original indifference to the Princess, and from his affection for other individuals, less morally and mentally deserving. Whenever the Princess complained to the King, he pitied her, and sympathized with her; but he advised that privacy should be observed, and if they could not be happy with each other, at least that their external conduct should not indicate their dislike. To this recommendation they mutually deferred, and hence on



many occasions the Ladies in waiting were by them directed to withdraw. Soon after the appearance in public of the Princess after her accouchement, a dispute originated, on a matter of comparatively but trivial importance, but which in the end, tended materially to widen that breach which had so long existed. This ended in another temporary separation, and in solitude and misery, with but two faithful domestics about her person, the Princess of Wales had to sustain the evils of suspicion, calumny, and disappointment. That this state of feeling could not long exist without some development or alteration, could not be expected, and consequently to the Countess of Cholmondeley they mutually expressed their dissatisfaction. The Prince, however, visited Windsor and Brighton with Mrs. Fitzherbert and Lady Jersey, and endeavoured to render himself happy and content. But the King reproached him for quitting a wife whom he had vowed to cherish, and expressed his desire for a reunion. This was now impossible. The Princess had too much feeling and independence to allow herself to be maligned and despised, without resenting it; and she entreated that by some arrangement or understanding, she might enjoy the society and protection of her husband. To the Prince she wrote, but he did not attend to her remonstrances, but only directed the Countess Cholmondeley to suggest the propriety of a separation. At the idea of a separation her mind at first revolted; she knew that it would lessen her dignity, degrade

her character, disturb the happiness of her beloved parents, and be injurious to the future character of her child. Yet the Prince had frequently stated to her his dislike of her person, character, and society, and she did not therefore long feel that aversion to the measure, which she otherwise would. On receiving this communication, the Princess wrote to the Prince requiring an explanation of his conduct, and representing the sources of their uneasiness and dissatisfaction; and to it she received a reply which was to her unsatisfactory. Windsor was now the residence of the Prince, and Carlton House of the Princess. Interviews but rarely occurred, and they often only tended to increase mutual unhappiness.

In March, 1796, the propriety of a separation was again represented to the Princess, and feeling that her situation could not be rendered more painful or degraded, she intimated to Lady Cholmondeley, that if she so separated *now*, at the request of the Prince, she would have it expressly understood, that in case of the death of the Princess Charlotte, prior to herself and her father, she would not consent again to cohabit with the Prince, merely for the purpose of preserving the succession of that branch of the Royal Family to the Crown. During the month of April, a further correspondence and conference took place, and at length the Princess requested that she might be definitely apprized of the wishes of the Prince of Wales; at the same time adding, that if it was possible, she would still be happy to reside with

her husband, but that his conduct must be materially altered, to render her Palace the abode of happiness or even peace. To the Prince she desired that her feelings and wishes might be communicated by Lord Cholmondeley. His Lordship complied with her request, and he returned a reply that his Royal Highness thought an immediate separation had better take place, and that in future they should each form their own arrangements, and neither of them be accountable to the other. With a verbal message on a subject of such great importance, the Princess was not content, and she required that she should receive from the Prince in writing, his wishes and proposition, that she might be assured the communication she received were those of the Prince, and not of artful and designing individuals anxious to promote a separation from personal and sordid motives.

With that request the Prince soon complied, and on April 30, 1796, he addressed to her the following letter :

“ MADAM,

“ As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you  
 “ wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon  
 “ which we are to live, I shall endeavour to ex-  
 “ plain myself upon that head with as much  
 “ clearness, and with as much propriety as the  
 “ nature of the subject will admit. Our inclina-  
 “ tions are not in our power, nor should either of  
 “ us be held answerable to the other, because na-  
 “ ture has not made us suitable to each other.

“Tranquil and comfortable society is, however,  
 “in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be  
 “restricted to that, and I will distinctly sub-  
 “scribe to the condition which you required,  
 “through Lady Cholmondeley, that even in the  
 “event of any accident happening to my daugh-  
 “ter, which I trust Providence in its mercy will  
 “avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the re-  
 “striction by proposing, at any period, a con-  
 “nexion of a more particular nature. I shall now  
 “finally close this disagreeable correspondence,  
 “trusting that, as we have completely explained  
 “ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives  
 “will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.

“ I am, Madam,

“ With great truth, very sincerely yours,

“ GEORGE P.”

*Windsor Castle,*

*April 30th, 1796.*

This letter, about which so much has been  
 said and written, was merely a link in the  
 chain, though certainly one of considerable im-  
 portance. That letter admits, first, That to the  
 Princess of Wales, he was not attached; second,  
 that he had no specific charge to bring against  
 the conduct of her Royal Highness; and third,  
 that a separation was essential to his happiness  
 and tranquillity. By the letter, however, the  
 Princess was surprized, agitated, and vexed. It  
 was true, that of a separation, they had often  
 spoken, but when the event was presented to her  
 in the light of reality, and immediate occurrence,

she was grieved and disappointed. The Princess hesitated, as to the course which it would be prudent for her to adopt, and accordingly, first determined on consulting her parents in Brunswick: but the time which would elapse, prior to receiving an answer, and all delays being improper, she resolved at the advice of a particular friend, to consult the King, and to write a speedy answer to the Prince. To the Prince she accordingly communicated, in French, her reply to his letter, and to the translation of which, particular attention should be paid.

“ The avowal of your conversation with Lord  
 “ Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me :  
 “ it merely confirmed what you have tacitly insi-  
 “ nuated for this twelvemonth. But after this, it  
 “ would be a want of delicacy, or rather an un-  
 “ worthy meanness in me, were I to complain of  
 “ those conditions which you impose upon your-  
 “ self.

“ I should have returned no answer to your  
 “ letter, if it had not been conceived in terms to  
 “ make it doubtful whether this arrangement pro-  
 “ ceeds from you or from me ; and you are aware  
 “ that the honour of it belongs to you alone.

“ The letter which you announce to me as the  
 “ last, obliges me to communicate to the King, as  
 “ to my sovereign and my father, both your  
 “ avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed  
 “ the copy of my letter to the King. I apprise  
 “ you of it, that I may not incur the slightest re-

“proach of duplicity from you. As I have at this  
 “moment no protector but his Majesty, I refer  
 “myself solely to him upon this subject: and if  
 “my conduct meet his approbation, I shall be in  
 “some degree, at least, consoled. I retain every  
 “sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which  
 “I find myself, as Princess of Wales, enabled by  
 “your means to indulge in the free exercise of a  
 “virtue dear to my heart—I mean charity.

“It will be my duty, likewise, to act upon  
 “another motive—that of giving an example of  
 “patience, and resignation under every trial.

“Do me the justice to believe, that I shall  
 “never cease to pray for your happiness, and  
 “to be,

Your much devoted

CAROLINE.

*May 6, 1796.*

Of the letter of the Prince, it has been said, that it is a “Letter of Licence” to the Princess, and to a certain extent, the title is applicable, but still it was just such a letter as the previous conduct of the Prince should have induced her to expect; and it was highly creditable to her character. It accused her of no crime—nor of any impropriety of conduct. The Prince could not, and did not *love* the Princess, and that was neither her fault nor his own. He admitted it. But then the question arises, whether although he could not love her, yet as he had solemnly pledged himself to love and cherish her, he ought not to have

abstained from those connexions with other individuals, which necessarily tended to increase as well as perpetuate those sentiments of indifference, and ultimately of dislike, which were entertained by the Prince. As to the propriety of such abstinence, there could not surely be any doubt, and it was all that was required by the Princess of Wales. Nor ought she to have desired more. The Prince she did not love, though she esteemed and honoured him, and she had, therefore, no right to expect from him, feelings more ardent than her own; but it did not follow, that she should expect, first, indifference, then dislike, and finally persecution, from him to whom she looked up for protection. This letter tacitly admitted the correctness of her conduct. “The inclinations of each other were not within their own power, nor should either of them be answerable to the other, because nature had not made them suitable to each other.” This was the alleged reason for the separation, and it was certainly the final reason; but had the Prince endeavoured to ascertain whether they were made so suitable? Certainly not. Before his future Consort had visited England, an arrangement is stated to have been made with Lady Jersey:—afterwards her scandal, and reproaches were listened to, and retailed:—then the marriage bed was forsaken:—Mrs. Fitzherbert was retaken under royal protection, and the Princess wholly discarded. Nor was this all; her enemies were placed as sentinels over her conduct, although the society and

protection of her husband she did not enjoy; and she who was a foreigner, a Princess of Brunswick, an intelligent and accomplished female, was destined to live not merely in solitude, but in the midst of scandal and reproach.

On the receipt of the letter from the Prince, the Princess of Wales consulted with a political friend of his Royal Highness, who still survives, as to the conduct she should adopt. He expressed himself surprized and grieved; but persuaded her immediately to consult her father and Monarch, George III. Such advice harmonized with her own feelings; yet she expressed herself desirous, if possible, to avoid distressing his mind and agitating his sensibility, by narrations which could not fail of producing dissatisfaction and unhappiness. But it was impossible. Lord Cholmondeley advised her, that a reconciliation appeared impracticable, since the feelings of the Prince were not the result of momentary displeasure, but of a long determined indifference, now amounting to dislike. He gave such opinion with his usual politeness and respect, and she felt that it was most likely to be correct. She then thought of returning to her father; but it was impossible so to act, without incurring the charge of impropriety of conduct; and, after much hesitation, she resolved on the letter which she sent, and determined on transmitting a copy to his Majesty.

The letter to the Prince she wrote in French, because she could correspond in that language with greater propriety and elegance; and a copy

of such communication she sent, with a letter to the King. His Majesty wrote to, and visited her. He deplored her situation, and endeavoured, by every possible method, to remedy the evils which he had been the unintentional instrument of producing. His son he could not reproach for not loving a woman whom he had married from policy; and his attachments to Lady Jersey and Mrs. Fitzherbert had been so frequently discussed and reprobated by him, that fresh animadversions were unnecessary. The Prince said, and wrote but little on the subject. Alienated from his wife, he yet respected the dignity of the Royal Family, and he supremely desired that as much as possible privacy should be preserved. In this respect, all parties agreed, and the terms of separation now alone remained to be discussed. Concerning those arrangements some differences of opinion occurred. The King thought it was possible for a separation to take place without an actual change of residence, whilst the Prince and Princess were each favourable to a complete alteration. The King thought, that £20,000 per annum should be allowed to the Princess for a separate maintenance; whilst she was advised to reject such income, and transmit periodically to the Prince her accounts for payment. To remedy the first difference it was determined, that apartments should be reserved for her at Carlton House, which she might occasionally visit; and to remove any objections as to the plan of her proposed maintenance.

nance, she promised to be œconomical in her arrangements and retired in her habits.

For some time, however, after these arrangements were concluded, the Princess continued to reside at Carlton House, and the Prince at Windsor and Brighton; till, at length, she retired to CHARLTON, a small but beautiful village in the vicinity of London; where, in a comparatively humble abode, the Princess of Wales resided for two years. To that place her beloved child accompanied her, and Miss Garth, Miss Vernon, Mrs. Harcourt, and Mrs. Sander, with a few other ladies formed her establishment.

In the superintendence of her child, she devoted much time; and often, when gazing on her beautiful form, she exclaimed, "You, my child, are my only comfort."

It was her constant practice, during her residence at Charlton, to remain till two or three o'clock in the afternoon in her own room, in the pursuit of various literary and scientific studies. But few circumstances she ever allowed to interrupt her. She then, generally, took an airing before dinner, and passed the evening in the society of her friends. Her conversation was interesting and various, and she was frequently visited by the King. Her circle of friends was necessarily small; but they were distinguished for the endowments of their minds, and for their attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty. Occasionally, indeed, her retirement was visited by indi-

viduals, who went neither to please the Princess nor delight themselves, but to watch her manners and weigh her words and actions. These were often misrepresented; and Lady Jersey was the common Depository for all scandal that was collected, and the misrepresentations which were invented. On the Prince she obtruded these communications, and to them he listened. It is to be regretted, that he did not understand her character, or was blinded to her vices; since, if he had diligently considered the representations which were made, it must have been evident to him, that they originated in selfishness, malice, and revenge, and were unentitled to his notice and regard.

During her continuance at Charlton, the Princess necessarily contracted debts, but they only amounted to £32,000, and were paid with cheerfulness and unanimity, out of the droits of the Admiralty. The Queen and Princesses did not now, however, visit her. The King pursued a different line of conduct, and all ranks in the nation believed that he would not patronize his daughter-in-law, if her conduct had been marked by any fragrant act of impropriety. Whilst therefore, the Queen and Princesses abstained from her society, the King solemnly ratified his approval of her conduct, by visiting her: although this gave considerable offence to the Prince of Wales, and called forth his animadversions.

To the remonstrances of the Prince elect little

attention is ever paid by the ruling King, and his opposition, in this instance, shared the same fate ; because it was produced by a jealousy of that interest which the people, her relations, and several friends of the Prince, demonstrated that they felt for her.

Her correspondents, at this time, increased in number—her child daily required more notice and attention—her visitors, though few, frequently entered into long conversations and discussions, and these occupations, united to her studies and necessary avocations, occupied the whole of her time. The Prince of Wales occasionally saw his daughter, though seldom, yet her beauty impressed his feelings, and for her he cherished a sincere regard.

In 1800 the King presented the Princess with the rangership of Greenwich Park, and she was advised to remove to Montague House at Blackheath. On her occupations and pursuits, during her residence at that Mansion, no observations will here be made, but for the next chapter they will be reserved.

Whilst residing at Charlton, the Princess of Wales very seldom attended at Court, at the Theatres, or at any place of public amusement. Such retirement was by many praised, and by some censured ; but satisfaction and approbation unquestionably predominated.

The Prince, during this period, lived in constant intimacy with Mrs. Fitzherbert ; and the Countess Jersey was seldom heard of in public, or in the

newspapers. Yet the Princess was forsaken, whoever was the favourite, and whilst the people of England knew of the *existence* of her who was destined to be their future Queen, they were kept ignorant of her actions, her mode of life, and all that in her could interest or attract.

Before the termination of this chapter, so replete with incidents calculated to excite feelings the most painful and regret the most sincere; it should be stated, that into the minutiae of family disputes, and all the minor incidents of this eventful period, the biographer has abstained from entering. The general arrangements and conduct of each of the illustrious parties have, indeed, been necessarily adverted to, and introduced; and further developments would have been made, if they had been at all necessary, to the complete history of the chapter. The curious and inconsiderate, who at the expense of decency, morality, social order, and public happiness, would desire that such statements had been even more minute and particular, may be dissatisfied;—but, the page of history is not to be unnecessarily defiled, nor the morals of a country to be put in jeopardy, for the gratification of the sensual and the disorderly. All that is important has been communicated, and the *check* of modesty may have remained uncrimsoned, by the perusal of the facts which have been stated; though the *heart* must have been deeply affected by the relation.

Nor have any circumstances been recorded, which did not bear immediately on the general result.

The *origin* of all the distress and misery which resulted from the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales, has been before wholly concealed. A well authenticated and adequate account is now presented, and every subsequent part of the history of these distinguished individuals can therefore be comprehended, and their conduct accurately understood.

That the conduct of George III. in requiring the marriage of the Prince, was unwise and improper cannot be disputed. He lived to deplore his determination, and sincerely did he regret it. Yet the excellence of his *intentions* are equally obvious, and their prudence must be acknowledged. This was, however, the cause of those disturbances which for five and twenty years, at periods agitated the English nation; and which, ultimately, threatened to involve the country in all the horrors of a civil war.

That the mere fact of a disagreement between the Prince and Princess of Wales, has not and would not have occasioned such evils, must indeed be admitted; and, that the wrongs she sustained, and the misery she endured, would alone have been insufficient motives to induce such feelings, must also be conceded. Connected with this fact, were the subsequent aggravating circumstances of conspiracy, of unpunished perjury, of rewarded falsehood, of the institution of illegal and unconstitutional inquiries into private character, of the establishment of petty Star Chambers, of the bribing of witnesses, of the persecution of

an inquisition, of the introduction of novel laws, and retrospective enactments, of secret Committees, of open insult offered to a woman, and a Queen, of rights denied which the Constitution, the Laws and common sense acknowledged, and, finally, of individual antipathies, requiring illegal relief, and, of a Ministry, distinguished for duplicity and cunning, yet for meanness, servility and ignorance, proposing measures, disapproved by the nation, and expending unnecessarily and extravagantly, enormous sums of the public revenue. These were some of the aggravating circumstances; and united, they at length, created a mass of evil which the people would no longer endure, and of which, they simultaneously expressed their disapprobation and abhorrence.

## CHAPTER V.

CHARGES MADE BY LADY DOUGLAS AGAINST THE PRINCESS OF WALES.—INVESTIGATION OF THOSE CHARGES BY THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY GEORGE III.—RESULT OF SUCH INVESTIGATION—AND PRIVATE HISTORY OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES, FROM 1801 TO 1807.

**T**HE year 1801 is a remarkable epoch in the life of this illustrious but unfortunate Lady. It was during this year, that an acquaintance was formed between the Princess of Wales and Lady CHARLOTTE DOUGLAS, and which was productive of the most extraordinary results; concerning which, volumes have been written; the interest and anxiety of the whole nation highly excited; and, to substantiate some of the alleged occurrences at Montague House, about this period, such a tissue of falsehoods was asserted and ultimately published, as has rarely if ever been heard of in any civilized community. These statements and the transactions connected with them, have been usually designated by the title of “THE DOUGLAS CONSPIRACY.”

Of Lady CHARLOTTE DOUGLAS, the chief contriver of and actress in this extraordinary drama, the following biographical particulars have been obtained. Her grandfather was an attorney at Gloucester, whose name was Charles Barrow, and who was created a Baronet, in consequence

of his connexion with the Corporation of that city. Sir Charles acquired a large fortune; he was, however, never married, but he left several daughters, one of whom, the mother of Lady Douglas, married a private soldier, named *Hephinson* or *Hopkinson*, who was soon made a serjeant; and, afterwards, by the interest of Sir Charles, he obtained the situation of army agent; he subsequently became a Colonel, possessed of considerable wealth and a fine estate near Gloucester. Mr. Douglas, whilst on the recruiting service at Gloucester, being then a Lieutenant of Marines, became acquainted with Miss Hopkinson and married her; but at what period is not precisely known. According to Lady Douglas's statement their courtship must have been a long one, as she says that she waited for Sir John nine years.

In the month of April, 1801, Sir John and Lady Douglas went to reside at Blackheath, because the air was better for Sir John, after his Egyptian services; and it was somewhat nearer Chatham, where his military duties occasionally called him. The person of Lady Douglas was handsome; she certainly appeared much younger than her husband; but the effects of his severe campaigns had produced in his countenance and in his general health, an early senescence. Her manners were commanding and tyrannical; and her disposition little inclined to brook any control. She appeared to have gained a complete ascendancy over her husband; who, that he might live in peace, sub-

mitted to the government of his Lady. During a part of the period of their residence at Montpellier-row, letters directed to her Ladyship were studiously concealed from Sir John, by her orders. Her general behaviour to her servants was by no means conciliatory; and the consequence was, they rarely remained long with her. The fruits of this marriage were two daughters. One, named Charlotte Sidney, who was born a short time before they went to reside on Blackheath, and the other in 1802. To this last, which was named Caroline Sidney, her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, the Duchess of Athol, and Sir Sidney Smith were sponsors. Besides making her god-daughter presents, her Royal Highness, during her intimacy with Lady Douglas, not only presented her with rich and costly articles of dress, but also with a service of plate, and many valuable trinkets.

Sir JOHN DOUGLAS was born at Jean Fields, Dalkeith, near Edinburgh; he was the son of Louis Douglas, Esq.; his grandfather was a lord of Session. At the age of thirteen, the Duke of Athol procured him a Commission in the Marine corps. He served under Rodney in the West Indies; and afterwards in America. He was also with Lord Keith, at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope. He next sailed in the Tigre with Sir Sidney Smith, and was at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre. On the capture of El Arish, he was dispatched to England with an account of its surrender; on which occasion, his Majesty conferred on him the honour of knighthood; and bestowed

on him a pension, during pleasure, of £433 per annum, as a remuneration for his services, and for the loss of property which he sustained by the blowing up of the Queen Charlotte, at Syracuse. He died at Croom's hill, Greenwich, in the year 1814, in the fifty-third year of his age; at which time he had a brevet of Major-General, was a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Marines, and Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Duke of Sussex.

It may be here also necessary to introduce the name of Sir Sidney Smith, another prominent personage in this singular affair. When the Princess of Wales first became acquainted with him is not exactly known; but Lady Douglas stated, that she understood the Princess knew Sir Sidney before she became Princess of Wales. However, soon after Sir John and Lady Douglas went to reside on Blackheath, and also soon after Sir Sidney Smith's return to England from the Mediterranean, his visits to Sir John and Lady Douglas, from his previous intimacy with the former, became very frequent; and he intimated how kind he should think it if they could let him have an airy room appropriated to himself, as he was always ill in town; and, from being asthmatic, suffered extremely when the weather was foggy. To this they consented: their house was opened to him; and he went there whenever he pleased, not only when Sir John Douglas was at home, but at all other times: in short he became, as Lady Douglas said, "*a part of the family.*"

The Douglasses were confessedly poor; they

kept no carriage. Sir Sidney Smith took not only his carriage and horses, but his footman, coachman and valet with him. These were at the service of the Douglasses, whenever they pleased. And on one occasion, when Sir Sidney went abroad, he left his coach and horses, and his coachman for their use, he paying all the expenses of their maintenance during his absence. The attention of Lady Douglas to Sir Sidney Smith was unremitting. She very often took his breakfast to him herself, into his bed-room, at the same time neglecting similar attentions to Sir John. And not unfrequently, did she omit to sleep with her husband during the time that Sir Sidney Smith was an inmate with them at Montpellier-row. Other circumstances which prove her particular partiality for Sir Sidney have been mentioned, which it is not necessary should be repeated here. But it is indisputably clear that the intimacy between this gentleman and the Douglasses, was of no ordinary kind. Whether that intimacy may serve to throw any light on the extraordinary conduct and statements of Lady Douglas, relative to the Princess of Wales, will be more fully seen in the sequel of this history.

That JEALOUSY, on the part of Lady Douglas, was one of the moving causes of her subsequent conduct, there can be, however, no reasonable doubt. It should not be forgotten, that Sir Sidney Smith has not, at any period, come publicly forward to repel any of the insinuations which have been made relative to his conduct at Mon-

tagne House: his connexion with the Douglasses will, it is presumed, fully explain the cause of his silence.

The introduction of Lady Douglas to the Princess of Wales was in the following manner:

Early in the year 1801, Lady Douglas had been brought to bed of a daughter; and in the month of November of the same year, the child having been reported to her Royal Highness, she determined to convince herself by ocular demonstration. Her motives for thus acting, originated solely, in that warm attachment which her Royal Highness always evinced for children, without any regard to their rank or station. As there is no reason to doubt this part of Lady Douglas's statement, especially as such attachment was evinced by the Princess from her earliest years, the introduction may be given in her own words.

"As I was sitting," said Lady Douglas, "in my parlour, which commanded a view of the heath, I saw, to my surprize, the Princess of Wales, elegantly dressed in a lilac satin pelisse, primrose-coloured half boots and a small travelling cap furred with sable, and a lady pacing up and down before the house, and sometimes stopping as if desirous of opening the gate in the iron railing to come in. At first, I had no conception her Royal Highness really wished to come in, but must have mistaken the house for another person's: for I had never been made known to her, and I did not know that she

“knew where I lived. I stood at the window  
 “looking at her, and as she looked very much,  
 “from respect, I courtesied, as I understood was  
 “customary; to my astonishment she returned  
 “my courtesy by a familiar nod, and stopped,  
 “Old Lady Stuart, a West India Lady, who lived  
 “in my immediate neighbourhood, and who was  
 “in the habit of coming to see me, was in the  
 “room, and said, ‘You should go out, her Royal  
 “Highness wants to come in out of the snow.’  
 “Upon this, I went out, and she came immedi-  
 “ately to me and said, ‘I believe you are Lady  
 “Douglas, and you have a very beautiful child;  
 “I should like to see it.’ I answered, that I was  
 “very sorry I could not have the honour of pre-  
 “senting my little girl to her, as I and my family  
 “were spending the cold weather in town, and  
 “I was only come to spend an hour or two upon  
 “the heath. I held open the gate, and the Prin-  
 “cess of Wales and her Lady, Miss Heyman, I  
 “believe, walked in and sat down, and stayed  
 “above an hour, laughing very much at Lady  
 “Stuart, who being a singular character, talked  
 “all kind of nonsense.”

This introduction soon led the way to further  
 intimacy. In the course of a fortnight afterwards,  
 Sir John and Lady Douglas received an invitation  
 to Montague House; and ultimately reciprocal  
 visits were made. Indeed, upon such familiar  
 and friendly terms were the Princess and Lady  
 Douglas, that she on one occasion supplied  
 the place of a Lady in waiting to her Royal

Highness, and even went to reside, by her desire, in the round tower then at the bottom of the garden of Montague House, in order to be more immediately near her Royal benefactress and friend.

This intimacy of Lady Douglas with the Princess of Wales continued from the month of November, 1801, till about Christmas, 1803; at which time, the Douglasses left Blackheath and went into Devonshire. In the month of October 1804, they returned, when Lady Douglas left her card at Montague House, and on the 4th of the same month, received a letter from Mrs. Vernon desiring her not to come there any more. After receiving Mrs. Vernon's letter, Lady Douglas wrote to the Princess on the subject, but it was sent back unopened. Lady Douglas remarked in her subsequent statement, "I had never, at this time, mentioned the Princess's being with child, or being delivered of a child to any person, not even to Sir John Douglas."

This assertion, however, is untrue; for it was in consequence of some observations of Lady Douglas, reflecting on the character and conduct of her Royal Highness, and communicated to her, that the visits of Lady Douglas were ordered not to be repeated at Montague House. Nor was this the sole reason for the conduct of the Princess, but the levity and improper behaviour of Lady Douglas, which was a subject of general animadversion, in the circle in which she moved, additionally determined the Princess on relin-

quishing her acquaintance altogether. But for this determination on the part of her Royal Highness, Lady Douglas would have continued her intimacy at Montague House.

Had her Royal Highness been guilty of the crimes, subsequently laid to her charge by Lady Douglas, a more imprudent, a more insane step than banishment from her presence could not have been taken. By two of her friends the Princess was advised not to adopt that plan, as from the malicious character of Lady D. they apprehended unpleasant results might ensue. But her Royal Highness was firm and decided, and the communication was made. At her dismissal, Lady Douglas became greatly mortified and enraged: she said, "the circumstance of being driven out of the house by the hands of the Lady in waiting, as if she had deserved it, and as if she were a culprit, was wounding her with a poisoned arrow, which left the wound to fester after it had torn and stabbed her; it was a refinement in insult, for the Princess had always been in the habit of writing to her *herself*, and had commanded her never to hold intercourse with her through her Ladies, but *always* directly to *herself*."

It appears, however, by Lady Douglas's statement that some suspicions had been entertained, relative to the honourable nature of the connexion between her Ladyship and Sir Sidney Smith; for she complained of the receipt of two anonymous letters accompanied with drawings, which she asserted, were written by the Princess of Wales,

“to throw fire-brands into the bosom of a quiet family!” Quiet, no doubt, particularly when Sir Sidney Smith resided with them; her Ladyship’s temper being at such times remarkably mild and placid, and apparently pleased with every thing around her.

The visits of Sir Sidney Smith to Montague House, at this time were more frequent than were agreeable to Lady Douglas, and whenever he was spending the evening there, her domestics observed that she was agitated and vexed. But Lady Douglas expressly stated in her deposition, that she never observed any impropriety of conduct between Sir Sidney Smith and the Princess.

For the more complete development of this history, numerous conversations have been had with a female servant who formed part of the household of Sir John Douglas, during his Lady’s intimacy with the Princess of Wales, and the impression upon the minds of all the domestics was, that *Lady Douglas was jealous of Sir Sidney Smith, and of his intimacy with the Princess of Wales*; and that from that circumstance arose the rancour which her Ladyship evinced towards the Princess, and the falsehoods which she subsequently promulgated concerning her. This circumstance, and her dismissal from Montague House, in a mind, constituted as Lady Douglas’s appears to have been, furnish a clue to one of the most unprincipled conspiracies which has ever disgraced the annals of this, or any other country. It must not however be forgotten, that another motive which

might possibly, and perhaps did, operate upon the mind of Lady Douglas and her coadjutors, *was the hope of reward* from a certain quarter, whence only reward could possibly be expected.

It unfortunately happened for the Princess of Wales, that she had about this time, adopted a child of a poor woman of the name of AUSTIN. Concerning the birth and parentage of this boy there fortunately has not been the least doubt, since first the matter was investigated. But Lady Douglas thought this a fit opportunity to assume and assert that this child was the offspring of the Princess of Wales; and to convey to the then Heir-apparent, an account of the conduct of his wife (long since, it is true, living apart from him, and whom in fact, though not in law, he had repudiated), which as stated by Lady Douglas, was so wicked and so indecent, that if true, demanded from the Prince of Wales and the country, severe animadversion and reproof, not to say the ulterior proceeding of a regular and legal divorce, accompanied possibly with the higher and dreadful penalty which awaits the crime of high treason. But, if the alleged transactions had even been *true*, of all persons in the world Lady Douglas was the last who should have betrayed her friend and her benefactress; a Princess whose benevolence knew no bound but the utmost limit of her means; a Princess who had heaped on the Douglasses innumerable favours and kindnesses; who had fostered them in her bosom without being aware that they would soon forget all her

kindnesses, and become her secret accusers, and the projectors of her utter ruin. But these alleged transactions have been indisputably proved to be FALSE; and therefore, whatever epithets are bestowed upon Sir John and Lady Douglas, must require from this consideration additional propriety and force.

The history of WILLIAM AUSTIN, (the name of the child to whom allusion has been made), has been thus simply stated by his mother, to the Author of these Memoirs.

SAMUEL AUSTIN, the father of WILLIAM, was born at Wellington, in the county of Somerset; and is the son of Peter and Lydia Austin, poor but industrious people of that town, but long since dead.

In the year 1800, Mrs. Sophia Austin, the wife of Samuel Austin, was employed to take care of a house for a Mr. Woodford, her husband's uncle, at Deptford. During some part of this time her husband lived chiefly in London, in various places of service; soon after his wife's removal to Deptford, Austin went to live with her at that place, and at a subsequent period obtained employment in his Majesty's Dock-yard, as a labourer. Having continued in this situation about fifteen months, he was discharged, during the time of the general peace in September 1802.

Mrs. Austin having again become pregnant, (for she had previously borne three children) and being within two months of her accouchement, she was desirous of obtaining a letter of recommendation

into the Brownlow-street Hospital. Being acquainted with a poor woman of the name of Lasley, who obtained daily relief from Montague House, Mrs. Austin requested Mrs. Lasley to endeavour to procure a letter of recommendation from some ladies in attendance, for admission into the Hospital. Mrs. Lasley made application, but was not successful. Fearing, however, that Mrs. Austin would suspect she had not applied for her, she proposed that she should accompany her to Blackheath; to this Mrs. Austin agreed; and on the Monday following they kept the appointment; Mrs. Austin remaining on the Heath while her companion went into the house.

Mrs. Lasley inquired for Mr. Stikeman, the page, but he not being in the house, they returned; as they were returning across the Heath, they met him. Mrs. Lasley said, "This is the poor woman for whom I solicited a letter of recommendation into the Hospital." Mr. Stikeman observed, he was very sorry he could not obtain one for her, but said the ladies would give her a letter to be attended at home. To this Mrs. Austin objected; and Mr. Stikeman again observed, that he could not procure her an admission into the Hospital, having already asked the ladies the question.

Not procuring a letter from Montague House, Mrs. Austin obtained one, through a friend in town, and was admitted into the Hospital, on Sunday the 11th of July, 1802; on which day she was delivered of a son, who was baptized at the

house of the Institution, on the 15th of the same month, and named William.

In the following October, Austin, (in consequence of being discharged from the Dock-yard,) and his wife, were in much distress; on one occasion, some little difference arising between them, he proposed that she and her children should become chargeable to the parish; but to this she objected.

At this time Mrs. Austin having heard that several persons had made successful applications to the Princess of Wales to procure a reinstatement in his Majesty's Dock-yard, she was advised to try this expedient on behalf of her husband, and induced him to write a petition, which she said, she would take to her Royal Highness, and endeavour to get him replaced in his former situation. She accordingly took the petition and went with the child William in her arms, on Saturday the 23rd of October, to Montague House. There, on seeing Mr. Stikeman, she stated the motive of her application, but he said he was not permitted to do such things, having applications of a similar nature almost daily. She urged her great distress, having another child at home, and her husband being quite destitute of employment. Mr. Stikeman, on this representation, gave her a shilling, took the petition (which was never presented) observing at the same time, that she had a fine child in her arms, and asked how old it was. Mrs. Austin answered, about three months. Mr. Stikeman

replied, " If it had been about a fortnight old, he " could have got it taken care of for her." She said that she thought it a better age to be taken from the mother, than if it were younger; he replied, " Ah, true." He then looked at it, saying, " Its a fine child, give it to me." He accordingly took the child into the house.

When Mr. Stikeman returned with the child, he said that he had been a very good boy, and desired her to give him the shilling again, that he might make it up half a guinea; and this he told her was a present from the ladies. The Princess of Wales did not at this time see the child.

On the 25th of October, Mrs. Austin according to appointment went again to Montague House. Mr. Stikeman inquired for her husband. He desired her to bring him with her the next morning by ten or eleven o'clock, as he particularly wished to see him; and that if they were not there at the time appointed, he would call on them at Deptford at twelve.

When Mrs. Austin reached home she went immediately to London in search of her husband, whom she at length found, and on her representation, they returned the same night to Deptford. The next morning Mr. Stikeman called on them, in consequence of their not having gone to Montague House, and made particular inquiries into their circumstances and character; promising to do what he could for them, in the way of obtaining a provision for the child.

A few days afterwards Mrs. Austin went to

Montague House, and asked Mr. Stikeman whether he would be able to do any thing for her child. He said he would try.

Mr. Stikeman went to Deptford on the 4th of November, and directed Mrs. Austin to bring her child to Montague House the next day, and gave her particular instructions in what manner she was to act on the occasion. He directed her to come to Blackheath at a certain hour, and to place herself near the door of Montague House, so that her Royal Highness might see the child as she was getting into her carriage. The day was however very rainy, and Mrs. Austin did not go.

On the next day, Mr. Stikeman went to Deptford, to inquire the reason of her not bringing the child according to appointment. She mentioned the weather as the only cause; he appeared much displeased; and told her she must leave what she was about, dress herself and the child, and hasten with all possible speed to Montague House, as the Princess was anxious to see it immediately; that when she came she must inquire for him—and not speak to any of the servants, or take the least notice of the circumstance to any person whatever.

On her arrival at Montague House, Mr. Stikeman shewed her into the Blue Room, obtained some dinner for her, and told her that she was now to be introduced to her Royal Highness, who was then taking a walk, but would soon return. Mrs. Austin waited two hours, when at length

her Royal Highness made her appearance accompanied by two ladies, passing through the Blue Room from the Park. The Princess observing Mrs. Austin, went up to her, as she stood with the child in her arms, and touching it under the chin, said "*O what a nice one;—how old is it?*" Mrs. Austin replied, "About three months." Her Royal Highness then turned to her ladies, and conversed with them in French. Immediately afterwards her Royal Highness retired with one of the ladies into another room, leaving the other lady and Mr. Stikeman with Mrs. Austin and the child. Mr. Stikeman and this lady also retired for a few minutes into an adjoining room; and as they were shutting the door, she heard the lady say to Mr. Stikeman, "What do you know of 'this woman?'" the door closing she heard no more.

The lady then returned, and asked whether she thought she could make up her mind to part from the child, and leave it with her Royal Highness, observing "what a fortunate woman she would be to have her child taken under the protection of so illustrious a personage, and that it would, in all respects, be brought up and treated as a young prince; and if he should behave properly as he grew up, what an excellent thing it would be for him." Mrs. Austin replied, that she thought she could part from it to such a person as her Royal Highness, rather than keep it, and suffer it to want. The lady then gave her a *pound note*, and desired her to go into the coffee-room,

and get some arrow-root and other necessaries for the purpose of weaning the child; as she then suckled it.

Frances Lloyd, the woman who superintended the coffee-room, was directed by Mr. Stikeman to give the arrow-root to Mrs. Austin, with instructions to mix it; and Mrs. Austin was ordered to begin weaning the child that night; but if the weaning appeared to hurt it, she was not to persevere, but to inform them.

As they were going out, a carriage stood at the front door, and a lady, who came from the house, was getting into it. Mr. Stikeman accompanied her to the carriage door, and said to the lady, "This is the little boy which her Royal Highness is going to take." "Oh, is it," she replied, "and what is his name?" He answered, William; "Why that is the very name to which her Royal Highness is so partial." Who this lady was, Mrs. Austin does not know, but the servants at Montague House did not hesitate to state that it was LADY DOUGLAS. This observation deserves particular attention.

Mrs. Austin went again to Montague House on the Thursday following, when Mr. Stikeman said that he expected her before, as they were anxious to know how the child took its weaning. She called at Montague House again, on the Sunday morning, when Mr. Stikeman, after inquiring on what day the Princess would want the child, directed her to bring it on the next day, Monday the 15th of November.

On Monday, Mrs. Austin left home, calling on a Mrs. Jones, in Butt-lane, an acquaintance, that she might take leave of the child before she finally parted from it. On her arrival at Montague House, she enquired for Miss Sander, having met Mr. Stikeman on Blackheath, who had ordered her to do so; she was shewn into Miss Sanders' room, who seeing her much distressed at parting from the infant, said, "It is still at your option, whether to leave it or not with her Royal Highness." Mrs. Austin replied, "She would certainly let her Royal Highness have it, as she knew it would be taken care of." Miss Sander then took the child, saying, "Take a kiss of your mother, my dear, at parting;" and conveyed it to her Royal Highness. Mrs. Austin was afterwards sent into the coffee-room, when Frances Lloyd said to her, with apparent displeasure, "I don't suppose the child will be kept in the house; I don't know what we shall do with it here." Mrs. Austin then asked her where she thought the child would be placed; she said, "She supposed it would be put across the Heath, where her Royal Highness had some other children at nurse, under the care of the steward's wife." By this time Mr. Stikeman had returned to Montague House, and Mrs. Austin immediately told him what Mrs. Lloyd had said respecting the child's being put out of the house; he desired her to pay no attention to any thing that was said by any of the servants, as they knew nothing about the business.

The next day, Mr. Stikeman came to Deptford to inform Mrs. Austin that the child was very well; that her Royal Highness had done every thing for it herself; and, that she appeared to be very fond of it. She went, as usual, on subsequent days to Montague House and was permitted to see the child.

As William Austin grew up, he was constantly taken about with the Princess, and treated in every respect as a child of her own. Her Royal Highness, indeed, appeared to be very much attached to the boy.

It may be mentioned here, that after William Austin was finally left with the Princess, Mrs. Austin asked Mr. Stikeman what answer she should give to any person who should inquire about it; he replied, "Tell the truth, and say that her Royal Highness has taken the child under her protection."

It should be also stated, that Mrs. Austin always saw the child whenever she chose to go to Montague House, till that establishment was broken up; when the Princess took him abroad with her, in 1814.

It may be also necessary to observe, that Austin subsequently obtained, by the influence of the late Mr. Perceval, a Locker's place in the London Docks, which he yet retains. And that Mrs. Austin received about forty pounds per annum from the Queen, for several years previous to her Majesty's death.

It has been considered necessary thus to give an authentic and somewhat minute detail of the

history of the adopted child, and Protégé of her ~~Royal~~ Highness the Princess of Wales, because it supplies a clue to all the charges which were subsequently brought against her. It is a simple unvarnished statement of facts, the truth of every word of which has been substantiated by different witnesses who yet survive.

Early in November, 1806, his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, influenced by the gross misrepresentations of Lady Douglas, acquainted the Prince of Wales, that Sir John had communicated to him some circumstances relative to the conduct of his illustrious Consort, which were of the utmost consequence to the honour of his Royal Highness, and to the security of the Royal succession; and that Sir John and his Lady were ready, if called upon, to make a full disclosure. He added, that the Duke of Kent had been made partly acquainted with the affair a year before. In consequence of this communication, the Prince requested the Duke of Kent to inform him of the nature of those circumstances, and why he had for a whole year, kept from his knowledge a matter so interesting to the honour of the Royal Family. The Duke of Kent, in a written declaration, stated, that about the end of the year 1804, he had received a note from the Princess of Wales, stating, she had got into an unpleasant altercation with Sir John and Lady Douglas, about an anonymous letter and a filthy drawing, which they imputed to her, and about which they were making a noise. She requested the Duke of Kent to interfere and prevent its going further.

His Royal Highness applied to Sir Sidney Smith, and through him, had an interview with Sir John Douglas, who was greatly enraged, and who seemed convinced that both the anonymous letters and the loose drawing were by the hand of the Princess; and that, the design was to provoke Sir John Douglas to a duel with his friend Sir Sidney Smith, by the gross insinuations flung out respecting the latter and Lady Douglas. The Duke of Kent, however, succeeded in prevailing on Sir John Douglas to abstain from his purpose of commencing a prosecution, or of stirring further in the business, as he was satisfied in his mind, of the falsehood of the insinuations, and could not be sure that the fabrications were not some gossiping story in which the Princess had no hand. Sir John, however, spoke with great indignation of the conduct of the Princess; and promised only that he would abstain from further investigation, but would not give a promise of preserving silence, should he be further annoyed. The Duke of Kent concluded with stating, that nothing was communicated to him beyond this fracas; and, that having succeeded in stopping it, he did not think fit to trouble his Royal Highness with a gossiping story, that might be entirely founded on the misapprehension of the offended parties.

It is particularly worthy of notice, that Sir John Douglas, in the communication which he made to the Duke of Kent, did not refer to any conduct of the Princess, except relative to the anonymous letters and the drawing; although he and Lady

Douglas, subsequently, deposed to her pregnancy and delivery, and other immoral transactions; which, in their depositions, they state to have been previously committed.

Shortly after this, Sir John and Lady Douglas made formal declarations not only as to these anonymous letters, but also relating generally to the conduct of the Princess of Wales during their acquaintance with her. These declarations were made before the Duke of Sussex, and are dated Greenwich Park, December 3, 1805. They contained in substance, the matter to which Lady Douglas subsequently deposed, and which will be noticed hereafter; but were combined with much more grossness and improbability.

These declarations were submitted by the Prince of Wales to the late Lord Thurlow, who said that his Royal Highness had no alternative—it was his duty to submit them to the King; as, if the allegations were true, the Royal Succession might be thereby affected. In the mean time, it was resolved to make further inquiry, and a Mr. Lowten, Sir John Douglas's Solicitor, whose selection was most extraordinary, was directed to take steps accordingly. The consequence was, that William and Sarah Lampert, (servants to Sir John Douglas,) William Cole, Robert and Sarah Bidgood, and Frances Lloyd, made declarations, the whole of which, together with those of Sir John and Lady Douglas, were submitted to his Majesty. Having perused them and advised with Lord Thurlow, he issued his warrant, dated the 29th of May, 1806, directing Lord Erskine,

Lord Grenville, Earl Spencer, and Lord Ellenborough to inquire into the truth of the allegations, and to report to him thereon.

The declarations of William and Sarah Lampert have never been made public. Cole made four distinct declarations, one dated the 11th January, 1806; another the 14th; another the 30th of the same month; and the last on the 23rd of February. Bidgood's declaration is dated the 4th April, 1806; his wife's is not dated; Frances Lloyd's was made the 12th May, 1806.

It appears, however, that although in this affair the Prince of Wales at first acted upon the advice given to him by Lord Thurlow, that his Lordship himself advised the Prince to consult Sir Samuel Romilly. The Prince's motives for so doing were (as Sir Samuel many years afterwards stated, in his place in the House of Commons), because he, Sir Samuel, was unconnected with the Prince of Wales, and generally with politics. The information which the Prince had received relative to the conduct of the Princess of Wales, was accordingly submitted to Sir Samuel Romilly for his advice; and after having considered it with the utmost care and anxiety, he addressed, in December, 1805, a letter to his Royal Highness, containing his sentiments on this important subject. After he gave that opinion, Sir Samuel said, that his Royal Highness took every possible means to ascertain what credit was due to the parties whose testimony had been given. In the change of administration which shortly followed after the

death of Mr. Pitt, Sir Samuel Romilly was appointed Solicitor-general; and in March 1806, he received his Majesty's commands to confer with Lord Thurlow on this matter; and in a short time afterwards, the alleged charges, were submitted to some of the King's Ministers, and an authority was then issued to certain Members of the Privy Council.

Sir Samuel Romilly, also, at the same time stated, that he was the only person present besides the Commissioners, at all the examinations which were conducted by the four noble Lords mentioned, he taking down all the depositions. He thought that he was selected for this purpose in preference to the Attorney-general, merely because, if it should not be found necessary to institute any judicial or legislative proceedings upon it, it was desirable that the utmost secrecy should be observed. He declared in the most solemn manner, that no enquiry was ever conducted with more impartiality, nor was there ever evinced a greater desire to discharge justly, a great public duty. He subsequently, stated that he was present at all the examinations but one, which was the last, and that was of Mrs. Lisle.

By attending carefully to the dates of the declarations, and to this statement of Sir Samuel Romilly, it will be found, that the *Delicate Investigation*, as it has been most erroneously called, first took place in consequence of the representations *only* of Sir John and Lady Douglas, to which

were afterwards added those of William Cole. Bidgood's statement is dated the 4th of April, 1806; and Fanny Lloyd's is still later;—whilst Sir Samuel Romilly received his Majesty's commands to confer with Lord Thurlow upon this important business in March, 1806.

The Commissioners in this Investigation were prompt in proceeding according to his Majesty's commands. The Commission was dated the 29th of May, and on the 1st of June, Lady Douglas and Sir John made their depositions. It has since been ascertained, that all the witnesses were examined separately, and enjoined to the strictest secrecy. Mrs. Austin, was sent for at ten o'clock at night from Pimlico, to Downing Street, and conveyed there by one of Lord Grenville's servants; she never communicated the fact of her examination to any person, not even to the Princess of Wales, till the year 1813.

The substance of *Lady Douglas's* Deposition was, that in May 1802, the Princess first talked with witness about her own conduct. In May or June, 1802, her Royal Highness went alone to witness's house; her Royal Highness desired witness to guess what had happened to her: the Princess said she was pregnant, and that the child had come to life.—That she was at breakfast at Lady Willoughby's, that the milk flowed up to her breasts, and came through her gown; that she threw a napkin over herself, and went with Lady Willoughby into her room, and adjusted herself to prevent its being observed. That

the Princess hoped the child was a boy—did not say who was the father of it, but observed, if it was discovered, she would give the Prince of Wales the credit of being the father, for she had slept two nights at Carlton House during the year. Witness said she should go abroad to her mother. That the Princess said she should manage it very well; and if things came to the worst, she should give the Prince the credit of it. That one day when the witness was pregnant, she was taken ill; the Princess desired Mrs. Sander to get witness a saline draught. That her Royal Highness said she was very sick herself, and would also take one. Witness observed that she could not want one, and looked at her Royal Highness. That the Princess said, “Yes, I do; what do you look at me for with your wicked eyes? you are always finding me out.” That Mrs. Sander looked very much distressed, and gave them a saline draught each. That witness rather suspected Sir Sidney Smith was the father, but only because the Princess was very partial to him: never knew that he was with her alone. That the Princess frequently after this spoke to witness of her pregnancy. That she was bled twice during the time; and recommended witness to be bled. Witness told the Princess that she was very anxious how she would manage to be brought to bed without its being known, and hoped she had a safe person. That the Princess said, “Yes, she should have a person from abroad; that she had a great horror of

"having any man about her on such an occasion." She said, "I am confident in my own plans, and I wish you would not speak to me on that subject again." She said, "I shall tell every thing to Sander; that Sander was a very good woman, and might be trusted; that she would send Miss Gooch to Brunswick, and Miss Millfield out of the way." That when witness was brought to bed the 23rd of July, 1802, the Princess insisted on being present; witness determined she should not. That Dr. Mackie, who attended witness, locked the door, and said she should not come in; but the Princess came in at another door which was not locked, was present during the time of the labour, and took the child as soon as it was born, and said "that she was very glad that she had seen the whole of it." That the Princess's pregnancy appeared to witness very visible; she wore a cushion behind, and made Miss Sander make one for witness. That during the witness's lying-in the Princess came one day with Mrs. Fitzgerald, whom she sent away, and took a chair, and sat by witness's bedside. That she said, "You will hear of my taking children in baskets, but you wont take any notice of it; I shall have them brought by a poor woman in a basket; I shall do it as a cover to have my own brought to me in that way." That very soon after this, two children, twins, were brought by a poor woman in a basket. The Princess took them, had them carried up into her room, and washed them herself;—and

that this the Princess herself told witness. That the father a few days afterwards insisted upon having the children, and they were given to him. That the Princess afterwards said to witness, "You see I took the children, and it answered very well; the father has got them back, and I cannot blame him; I shall take other children, and have quite a nursery." That witness saw the Princess on a Sunday, either the 30th or 31st of October, 1802, walking before her door, she was dressed so as to conceal her pregnancy; she had a long cloak, and a very great muff. She had just returned from Greenwich Church, looked very ill, and witness thought she must be very near her time. That when the Princess went to see witness during her lying-in, she told her that when she, the Princess, should be brought to bed, she wished witness not to come to her for some time, for in seeing witness she might be confused. In January, witness (having been into Gloucestershire, about the end of December, and stayed there a month) went to Montague House; and that upon the sofa a child was lying, covered with a piece of red cloth. That the Princess got up and took witness by the hand; she then led witness to the sofa, and said, "There is the child, I had him only two days after I saw you." The words were either "I had him," or "I was brought to bed;" the words were such as clearly imported that it was her own child. She said she got very well through it; and shewed witness a mark on the

child's hand; it was a pink mark.\* That witness saw the child afterwards frequently with the Princess, till Christmas, 1803, when she left Blackheath; witness was sure that it was the same child; she never saw any other child there. Princess Charlotte used to see the child and play with him; the child used to call the Princess of Wales, Mamma, and was called William. When it was in long clothes, witness and Sir John Douglas breakfasted one day with the Princess, who said to Sir John, "This is the Deptford boy." That independently of the Princess's confessions to witness, witness can swear that she was pregnant in 1802. That after witness's return from Devonshire, in October 1804, she left her card at Montague House; on the 4th of the same month she received a letter from Mrs. Vernon, desiring her not to come any more to Montague House. That witness wrote to the Princess on the subject; her letter was sent back unopened; she then wrote to Mrs. Fitzgerald, saying that she thought herself extremely ill-used. In two or three days after, witness received an anonymous letter, which she produced.† Lady Douglas concluded her deposition, by saying that the Princess of Wales told her that she got a

\* It is worthy of observation, that William Austin was born with such a mark on his hand, as was stated by Mrs. Austin in her deposition and subsequent declaration.

† This letter has never been published, nor was a copy sent to the Princess of Wales.

bed-fellow whenever she could; and she also stated, other and more gross observations as being made by her Royal Highness, but with which it would be unnecessary and improper to defile these pages. The finale of her Ladyship's deposition was, that the Princess said the Prince was the most complaisant man in the world; that she did what she liked, went where she liked, and the Prince paid for all. This deposition was *sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing Street, June 1, 1806.*

*Sir John Douglas's* deposition was very short. He stated, that he had a house at Blackheath, in 1801; that Sir Sidney Smith used to come to his house; that he had a bed for him; that the Princess of Wales came frequently to their house; he thought more for Sir Sidney Smith than for them. That after she had been some time acquainted with him, she appeared to him to be pregnant. One day she leaned on the sofa, put her hand upon her stomach and said, "Sir John, I shall never be Queen of England." Sir John said, "Not if you don't deserve it;" at which she seemed at first angry. He received two anonymous letters\* Oct. 27th, 1804, which he produced; one was addressed to him, and the other to Lady Douglas. This deposition was *sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing Street, June 1, 1806.*

\* Neither of these letters have been published; nor was a copy of either of them sent to the Princess of Wales.

*Robert Bidgood* deposed, that he had lived with the Prince nearly twenty-three years. That he went to the Princess in March, 1798, and had lived with her Royal Highness ever since. That early in the year 1802, he first observed Sir Sidney Smith at Montague House; he used to stay late at night; and he had seen him as early as ten or eleven o'clock in the morning there. He was in the habit, as well as Sir John and Lady Douglas, of dining, and having luncheon, or supping there, almost every day. He saw Sir Sidney Smith one day in 1802, in the blue room, about eleven o'clock in the morning, full two hours before they expected to see company. On asking the servants, why they did not let witness know that he was there, the footman said that they had let no person in. That there was a private door to the Park, by which, if he had had a key, he might have come in, and got to the blue room, without any of the servants perceiving him. Witness never observed any appearance of the Princess, which could lead him to suppose she was with child. That at the end of 1803, or beginning of 1804, witness first observed Captain Manby come to Montague House. That one day when the Captain was going away, he stopped with the Princess a long time, while witness was waiting on the steps. Witness looked into the room, in which they were, and in the reflection of the looking-glass saw them salute each other; he meant they kissed each other's lips. That when the Captain went away, the Princess wiped her eyes, as if

she was crying. That in May 1804, the Princess went to Southend, and when the Africaine, Captain Manby's ship, arrived, the Captain came immediately to the Princess's house, and dined with her and her Ladies; he afterwards visited her frequently. That the Princess had two houses on the cliff, Nos. 8 and 9; she afterwards took the drawing room of No. 7, which communicated by the balcony with No. 8.; witness several times saw the Princess retire alone with Captain Manby from No. 7, through No. 8, into No. 9, which was the house in which the Princess slept. Witness suspected that Captain Manby slept in the house; hints were given by the servants, and he believes others suspected it as well as himself. That the Princess took a child, which witness understood was brought into the house by Stikeman; witness was not there when the child was brought; but saw it there early in 1803. It had a mark on its left hand; Austin is the name of the man, who is said to be the father. Austin's wife had another child which she sometimes brought to Montague House; it was very like the child who lives with the Princess. Mrs. Gosden was employed as nurse to the child. It was brought to the Princess as soon as she awoke, and continued with her Royal Highness the whole morning. The Princess appeared extremely fond of the child. *Sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing Street, June 6, 1806.*

The next deposition is that of *William Cole*. He states that he lived with the Princess of Wales

ever since her marriage. One day, he thought about February 1802, the Princess ordered some sandwiches, which witness took to the blue room to her, where he saw Sir Sidney Smith, at which he was surprized ; he must have come in from the Park ; had he come in from Blackheath he must have passed through the room in which witness was waiting. That witness, returning some time afterwards, into the room, observed Sir Sidney Smith was sitting very close to the Princess on the sofa ; they both appeared a little confused. A short time before this, witness saw one night, about twelve o'clock, a man go into the house from the Park, wrapt up in a great coat. He did not give any alarm, for he did not think it was a thief. That shortly after witness had seen Sir Sidney and the Princess, sitting together on the sofa, he was sent to do the duty in town. That witness never afterwards attended at Montague House, but occasionally, when the Princess sent for him. That about July, 1802, witness observed the Princess had grown very large ; and in the latter end of the same year, she appeared to be grown thin ; witness observed this to Miss Sander, who said, that she was much thinner than she had been. That witness had not any idea of the Princess being with child. That about the latter end of 1801, Mr. Lawrence the painter, used to go to Montague House, when he was painting the Princess, and he slept there two or three nights together. Witness has often seen him alone with the Princess, at eleven and twelve o'clock at night, and as late

as one and two in the morning. That he was one night with the Princess in the blue room, after the Ladies had retired. Sometime afterwards, when witness supposed he had gone to his room, he went to see that all was safe, and found the blue room door locked, and heard a whispering. *Sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing Street, June 6, 1806.*

*Frances Lloyd* deposed that she had lived almost twelve years with the Princess of Wales. Her situation being in the coffee-room, she had not opportunities of seeing the Princess; witness did not see her sometimes for months. That Mr. Mills attended witness for a cold; he asked witness if the Prince came backwards and forwards to Blackheath, for the Princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child; this must have been three or four years ago, it may have been five years ago; she thought it was before the child was brought to the Princess. That witness remembered the child being brought; she had only to give the mother arrow root, with directions how to make it to wean the child; she gave it to the mother, who took the child away; the mother in a week, ten days, or a fortnight brought it again. The second time the mother brought it into witness's room; on asking the mother how she could part with the child, she replied she could not afford to keep it. That witness, when at Ramsgate with the Princess in 1803, was called up at six in the morning, to make breakfast for her Royal Highness; never had

before, whilst in the Princess's service, been called up to make breakfast. Captain Manby's ship was in the Downs. That when witness opened the shutters (she slept on the ground floor), she was surprized to see the Princess walking with a tall gentleman down the gravel walk in the garden, towards the sea, at that time in the morning. While at Blackheath, a woman, at Charlton, named Townly, told witness that some linen which she had to wash, was marked with the appearance of a miscarriage, or delivery. Witness did not think any of the women in the Princess's house were in a state of pregnancy, had they been so, she thinks she must have known it. Witness never told Cole that Mary Wilson, when she supposed the Princess to be in the library, had gone into the Princess's bed-room and had found a man there at breakfast with the Princess; or that there was a great to do about it, and that Mary Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away if she divulged what she had seen. His deposition was *sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing Street, the 7th June, 1806.*

*Mary Ann Wilson* deposed that she had been house-maid nearly ten years to the Princess of Wales. She recollected the child's being brought; it appeared to be about four months old; she remembered twins being brought to the Princess, before this child was brought. She never noticed the Princess's shape to be different in that year, from what it was before; she never had thought the Princess was with child; she had heard it

reported a good while ago; she never suspected the Princess was with child; she thought that the Princess could not have been with child, and have gone on to her time, without her knowing it. Witness was at Southend with the Princess. Captain Manby used to visit there. That witness made the Princess's bed, and had been in the habit of making it, ever since she lived with her Royal Highness. Witness had never any reason to believe that two persons slept in the bed; she never saw any particular appearance in it; the linen was washed by Stikeman's wife. This deposition was sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing Street, the 7th of June, 1806.

*Samuel Roberts*, deposed, that he was footman to the Princess of Wales; remembered the child being taken by the Princess; he never observed any particular appearance of the Princess in that year, to lead him to believe that she was with child. Sir Sidney Smith used to visit the Princess, at Blackheath; he never saw him alone with the Princess; and he never stayed after eleven o'clock. Remembered Cole once asking him, he thought three years ago, whether there were any favourites in the family; remembered saying, that Captain Manby and Sir Sidney Smith, were frequently at Blackheath, and dined there oftener than other persons. That he never knew Sir Sidney Smith stay later than the ladies; could not say exactly at what hour he went; but he never remembered his staying alone with the Princess.

*Thomas Stikeman* deposed that he had been page

to the Princess of Wales ever since she had been in England. He first saw the child who is with the Princess about four year ago; he and all the house knew that her Royal Highness had a strong desire to have an infant. He had heard of a woman who had twins, one of which the Princess was desirous to have, but the parents would not part with it. A woman with a child came to the door with a petition; he took the child and shewed it, he believed, to Mrs. Sander: the child was returned to the woman, and he made inquiries after the father, and then desired the woman to bring the child again. With that desire she complied, and the child was taken to the Princess, who desired the woman to take it again, and bring it back in a few days; Mrs. Sander was desired to provide linen for it. Within a few days the child was brought again by the mother, and was left, and had been with the Princess ever since; and recollected that the mother said, he was marked with elder wine. That the father's name was Austin, and he lived with witness at Pimlico; witness's wife was a laundress, Austin was employed to turn the mangle. Witness had no particular directions by the Princess to procure a child. Nothing led him, from the appearance of the Princess, to suppose that she was with child; but from her shape it was difficult to judge; when she was with child of the Princess Charlotte, he should not have known it when she was far advanced, if he had not been told it. That when the Princess was altering her rooms in the Turkish style, Sir Sidney Smith's

visits were very frequent; the Princess consulted him upon them. That he stayed alone with the Princess sometimes till eleven o'clock; he had been there till twelve o'clock and after, witness believed alone with the Princess. That the Princess was of that lively vivacity, that she made herself familiar with gentlemen, which prevented his being surprised at his staying so late. Witness had seen the Princess and Sir Sidney Smith alone sitting on the same sofa in the blue-room; witness had access to the blue-room at all times; there was an inner room which opened into the blue-room; when that room was not lighted up he did not go into it, and did not consider that he had a right to go into it. He had no idea on what account he was brought to Downing Street; did not know that the Princess's conduct was questioned or questionable; was with the Princess at Ramsgate; Captain Manby was frequently there; he went away as late as eleven o'clock at night; witness did not remember Fanny Lloyd being called up any morning to make breakfast for the Princess. That witness did not like Captain Manby's coming so often, and staying so late; he was uneasy at it. Remembered a silver lamp being sent to Captain Manby; had never seen Captain Manby at the Princess's at Ramsgate before nine o'clock, but he had heard he had been there earlier. Witness had never any suspicion of there being any thing improper, either from the frequent visits of Captain Manby, or from his conduct. Witness was at Catherington with the Princess;

he had once or twice seen her go with Mr. Hood in his one-horse chaise; they had been out for two hours, or two hours and a half together. That witness did not recollect any gentleman ever sleeping in the house; he did not remember Lawrence the painter ever sleeping there; the Princess seemed very fond of the child; it was always called William Austin. His deposition was *sworn at Lord Grenville's house in Downing Street, the 7th day of June, 1806.*

*John Sicard* deposed, that he was steward, and had lived seven years with the Princess of Wales, and had been in the same situation from the end of six months after he first came to live with her Royal Highness. That he remembered the child now with the Princess being brought there when it was about five months old; it was about four years ago. He had not the least suspicion of the object of his being brought to Downing Street. He had opportunity of seeing the Princess frequently; waited on her at dinner and supper; he never observed that she had the appearance of being with child; he thought it hardly possible that she should have been so without his perceiving it. Sir Sidney Smith, with Sir John and Lady Douglas, used frequently to visit Montague House in 1802. Sir Sidney was very often alone with the Princess, and so was Mr. Canning and other gentlemen. Witness never suspected the Princess of acting improperly with Sir Sidney or any other gentleman. Witness remembered Captain Manby visiting at Montague House; the Princess did

not pay the expense of fitting up his cabin, but for the linen furniture, which was ordered by witness, by direction of the Princess, of Newbury and Jones; it was in the Princess's bill, and paid for with the rest, by Miss Heyman. This deposition was *sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing Street, on the 7th June, 1806.*

*Charlotte Sander* deposed, that she had lived with the Princess of Wales eleven years; was a native of Brunswick, and came with the Princess from Brunswick. That the Princess had a little boy living under her protection; he had a mark on his hand, but it was worn off; the father's name was Austin; the mother brought the child to the Princess, when he was about four months old; witness was present when the child was brought; she was sure that she never saw the child in the house before; it appeared to be four months old. The Princess was not ill or indisposed, in the autumn of 1802. Witness was dresser to her Royal Highness; she could not be ill or indisposed, without witness's knowing it; the Princess was not confined to her room, or to her bed in that autumn; there was not, to witness's knowledge, any other child in the house; it was hardly possible there could have been a child there, without her knowing it; witness had no recollection that the Princess had grown larger than usual in 1802; she was sure the Princess was not pregnant; being her dresser, she must have seen it if she was; witness solemnly and positively swore, that she had no reason to know or believe that the

Princess of Wales had been at any time pregnant, during the time she had lived with her Royal Highness at Montague House; she might have said to Cole that the Princess was grown much thinner, but she did not recollect it. That she never heard any body say any thing about the Princess being pregnant, till she came to Downing Street. Witness did not expect to be asked any question respecting the Princess being pregnant. Nobody came over to the Princess, from Germany, in the autumn of 1802, to witness's knowledge. That her Royal Highness was generally bled twice a year, but not lately. Never had any reason to suppose the Princess received the visits of any gentlemen at improper hours. That Sir Sidney Smith visited her very frequently; he was there very late, sometimes till two o'clock in the morning. That witness never saw Sir Sidney Smith alone with the Princess at night, nor any thing which led her to suppose that he was on a very familiar footing with the Princess of Wales. Witness was at Southend with the Princess, knew Captain Manby; he visited the Princess frequently, while his ship was there. That witness does not know, or believe, that there was any improper familiarity between them. When the Princess had company, witness was never present. Princess was at Ramsgate, in 1803; Captain Manby was frequently there; he never stayed till late at night, at the Princess's house. Witness never heard from the Princess, that she apprehended her conduct was questioned. When she was brought to Downing Street, she

thought she might be questioned respecting the Prince's conduct, and she was sorry to come; she did not know why she thought so. Witness never saw any thing in the conduct of the Princess, while she lived with her, which would have made her uneasy, if she had been her husband. When at Southend, never heard any body in the steward's room, say any thing about Captain Manby. Witness had seen Captain Manby alone with the Princess, at No. 9. in the drawing-room, at Southend, once or twice, at three o'clock in the afternoon, never later; never saw Captain Manby in any other part of the house; had no reason to believe he was in any other room in the house. Witness was at Catherington with the Princess, who was at Mr. Hood's house; she never saw any familiarity between the Princess and Mr. Hood; had seen the Princess drive out in Mr. Hood's carriage, with him alone; it was a gig; they used to be absent several hours; a servant of the Princess's attended them. Witness had delivered packets, by order of the Princess, sealed up, to Sicard, to be forwarded to Captain Manby. *Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing Street, the 7th of June, 1806.*

These, with the exception of Mrs. Austin's deposition, were all which were taken in support of the charges, brought by Lady Douglas, and they should be carefully perused.

Nothing further was heard of this Commission till the 20th of June, when a letter was addressed to Lord Gwydir by Earl Spencer, one of the Com-

missioners, informing him that in consequence of certain inquiries, directed by his Majesty, Lady Douglas had deposed, upon oath, that she was told by her Royal Highness, that at breakfast, at Lady Willoughby's house, in May or June, 1802, "the milk flowed up to her breasts, &c." as has been before stated in the summary of Lady Douglas's deposition. Earl Spencer added, that it being material to ascertain the truth of this fact, he requested his Lordship to desire Lady Willoughby, to put down, in writing, every circumstance in any manner relating thereto, if any such there were, of which her Ladyship had any recollection; and also to say, whether during the course of the above mentioned year, Lady Willoughby observed any alteration in the Princess's shape, or other circumstances which might induce her to believe that her Royal Highness was pregnant.

Lady Willoughby replied, on the 21st of the same month, from Sidmouth, that she had no recollection whatever of the fact, stated to have taken place during a breakfast, at Whitehall, in May or June, 1802; nor did she bear in mind any particular circumstance, relative to the Princess of Wales, at that period to which Earl Spencer alluded.

This reply of Lady Willoughby was not esteemed by the Commissioners sufficiently satisfactory; and another letter was written to Lord Gwydir on the 1st of July, but *not signed*, alleging the extreme importance of the business, and requesting

that her Ladyship would have the goodness to return in writing distinct and separate answers to four accompanying queries; and on her return to town (it was added) that it might be judged necessary, for the sake of uniformity, that her Ladyship should confirm them on oath. As these queries and answers are very important, they are now subjoined.

*Queries.*

1. Does Lady Willoughby remember seeing the Princess of Wales at breakfast or dinner at her house either at Whitehall or Beckenham on, or about the months of May or June, 1802?

2. Has her Ladyship any recollection of the circumstance of her Royal Highness having retired from the company at such breakfast or dinner on account, or under the pretence of having spilt any thing over her handkerchief? And if so, did Lady Willoughby attend her Royal Highness on that occasion? and what then passed between them, relative to that circumstance?

*Answers.*

1. In the course of the last ten years the Princess of Wales has frequently done me the honour to breakfast and to dine at Whitehall and Langley in Kent. Her Royal Highness may have been at my house in the months of May or June, 1802, but of the period at which I had the honour of receiving her, I have no precise recollection.

2. I do not remember her Royal Highness having at any time retired from the company, either at Whitehall or at Langley, under the pretence of having spilt any thing over her handkerchief.

3. Had Lady Willoughby frequent opportunities in the course of that year to see her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and at what periods? And did she at any time during the year, observe any appearance which led her to suspect that the Princess of Wales was pregnant?

4. Is Lady Willoughby acquainted with any other circumstances leading to the same conclusion, or tending to establish the fact of a criminal intercourse, or improper familiarity, between her Royal Highness and any other person whatever? and if so, what are they?

3. To the best of my remembrance I had few opportunities of seeing the Princess of Wales in the year 1802, and I do not recollect having observed any particular circumstance relative to her Royal Highness's appearance.

4. During the ten years I have had the honour of knowing the Princess of Wales, I do not bear in mind a single instance of her Royal Highness's conduct in society towards any individual tending to establish the fact of a criminal intercourse, or improper familiarity.

WILLOUGHBY.

On the 23d of June, the Commissioners were again engaged in examining witnesses.

*Elizabeth Gosden* deposed, that she was the wife of Francis Gosden, a servant to the Princess of Wales, and who had lived with her Royal Highness eleven years. That in November, 1802, she was sent for to the Princess's house, to look after a little child; she understood it had then been nine days in the house; she was nurse to the child; the child never slept with the Princess; witness

sometimes used to take him to the Princess before she was up, and leave him with her in bed; the child had a mark on his hand, but it had worn out; witness was about a year and three quarters with the child; the mother used to come often to see him; witness never saw the Princess dress the child, or take off its things herself, but she has seen witness do it. This deposition was *sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing Street, the 23rd of June, 1806.*

*Betty Townley* deposed that she was a Laundress, and lived at Charlton for sixteen years previously to the last two; she used to wash linen for the Princess of Wales's family; she never washed the Princess's own bed-linen but once or twice occasionally; she recollects one bundle of linen once coming rather more marked than usual; she once thought, in looking over the clothes, the linen had the appearance of a miscarriage, and at the time believed it; she might mention it to Fanny Lloyd; she did not recollect when this took place, but that it must have been more than two years and a half ago. *Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing Street, the 23d of June, 1806.*

*Thomas Edmeades*, of Greenwich, deposed that he was appointed Surgeon and Apothecary to the Princess of Wales, in 1801; that, from that time, he had attended the Princess and her household; he knew Fanny Lloyd, and had frequently attended her, for colds; did not recollect that he ever said any thing to her respecting the Princess of Wales; it never once entered his thoughts while he at-

tended the Princess, that she was pregnant; he never said so to Fanny Lloyd; witness bled the Princess twice; the second bleeding in June, 1802; Princess was bled at her own desire, not by any medical advice; he did not use to bleed her twice a year; saw her Royal Highness in November, 1802, but had not any idea of her being pregnant; visited a child there in November, which was from three to five months old; had no recollection of seeing the Princess in October, nor of the Princess having been ill about the end of that month; he did not think he attended the Princess, or saw her often in the summer or autumn of 1802; Sir Francis Millman attended occasionally. This deposition was *sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing Street, the 25th of June, 1806.*

*Samuel Gillam Mills* deposed that he was a Surgeon at Greenwich, and had been in partnership with Mr. Edmeades since 1800. That he was appointed by the Princess, her Surgeon, in April, 1801, and from that time, he never attended her Royal Highness or any of the servants, in his *medical* capacity, except once Miss Gooch, and once Miss Millfield; that a female child was brought to the Princess while he attended her, in 1801; that when first he saw the child it was about ten months old; he understood the child was taken through charity; remembered a female servant who attended in the coffee-room; that he never said to that woman, or to any other person, that the Princess was with child, or looked as if she was with child; that he never

thought or surmised anything of the kind; he bled the Princess two or three times, by direction of Sir Francis Millman; it was for an inflammation on the lungs; that he did not know that it was usual for the Princess to be bled twice a year; he recollected something of having attended the servant in the coffee-room for a cold, but was sure he never said to her that the Princess was with child, or looked as if she was so. That he was sent for to the female child, to see whether it was a healthy child, as her Royal Highness meant to take it under her patronage; it could just walk alone. This deposition was *sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing Street, 25th of June, 1806.*

*Harriet Fitzgerald* deposed that she came to live with the Princess of Wales in 1801, merely as a friend and companion, and had continued to do so to that time. That she knew Lady Douglas, and remembered her lying in; it happened by accident that her Royal Highness was in the house at the time of Lady Douglas's delivery, she thought in July, 1802; witness was there herself. The Princess was not in the room when Lady Douglas was delivered; there was, certainly, no appearance of the Princess being pregnant at that time; witness saw the Princess every day, and at all hours; she believed it quite impossible that the Princess should have been with child without her observing it. That the Princess took a little girl into the house about nine years ago. Witness was in the house when the boy then there, was brought; the Princess had said before, openly, that she

should like to have a child. That witness was at Southend with the Princess; remembered Captain Manby being there sometimes, not very often; he used to come at different hours, as the tide served; he dined, but never staid late; did not know of his having been there later than half-past nine; she never knew of any correspondence by letter with him, when he was abroad; did not recollect seeing him ever early in the morning at the Princess's; never knew the Princess up at six o'clock in the morning; had she been up so early witness should not have known it, not being up herself. That witness remembered the Princess giving Captain Manby an inkstand: he had the care of two boys, whom she protected. Captain Manby might have slept in the village of Southend, but witness believed he never slept in the Princess's house. Witness was at Catherington with the Princess; remembered her Royal Highness going out in an open carriage with the present Lord Hood; believed Lord Hood's servant attended them. Remembered Sir Sidney Smith being frequently at Montague House; he was sometimes there as late as twelve and one in the morning, but never as witness knew alone. That witness knew the Princess was not in the room when Lady Douglas was delivered, because witness herself was in the room at the time. *Sworn at Lord Grenville's house, in Downing Street, the 27th of June, 1806.*

On the 3rd of July, *Robert Bidgood* made a further deposition. He stated that the Princess used

to go in her phaeton with the coachman and helper towards Long Reach, eight or ten times, carrying luncheon and wine with her, when Captain Manby's ship was at Long Reach; Mrs. Fitzgerald was always with her; she went out at one and returned at five or six, sometimes sooner or later. When Captain Manby sailed from Southend, the Princess ordered them to pack up for Blackheath. That Captain Manby was there three times a week at least, whilst his ship lay for six weeks off Southend, and at the Nore; witness had seen him there by ten o'clock in the morning; he suspected that the Captain slept at No. 9, the Princess's; she always put out the candles herself, in the drawing-room of No. 9, and told witness not to wait to put them up. That witness used to see water-jugs, basins, and towels set out opposite the Princess's door, in the passage—never saw them so left at any other time; he suspected, there was a general suspicion throughout the house, he was there at those times. That Mrs. and Miss Fitzgerald, and Miss Hammond, then Lady Hood, were there. Witness's suspicions arose from seeing them in the glass, kiss each other, as he mentioned before. That her behaviour was like that of a woman attached to a man; that they used to be by themselves, at luncheon, at Southend, when ladies were not sent for, several times. That the servants used to talk and laugh about Capt. Manby. Witness lived there when Sir Sidney Smith came; she appeared very attentive to him, but witness did not suspect any thing further. All the upper servants had keys of

the doors to the park, to let her Royal Highness in and out; he used to see Sicard receive letters to put in the post, instead of the boy; this was after Captain Manby was gone to sea; witness and others suspected this to be for the Captain. *Sworn in Downing Street the 3rd of July.*

*Sir Francis Millman*, M. D. deposed that he had attended the Princess of Wales in March, and towards the autumn of 1802. That Mr. Mills of Greenwich, attended her as Apothecary; his partner, Mr. Edmeades, had attended since; witness did not know that any other Medical person attended at that time; he observed her Royal Highness's person at the end of 1802; never observed then, or at any other time, any thing which induced him to think she was pregnant; witness thought it impossible she should, in that year, have been delivered of a child, without his observing it. Witness never attended her Royal Highness but on extraordinary illnesses. If she had been pregnant in June, 1802, he could not have helped observing it. She during that year, and at all times, was in the habit of receiving the visits of the Duke of Gloucester. *Sworn in Downing Street, July 3, 1806.*

In a letter, dated, Lower Brook Street, July 4, 1806, Sir Francis Millman corrected the evidence which he gave at Downing Street, the day before, by stating "that he had fallen into an error, in saying that he had attended her Royal Highness in the Spring of 1802, and that he *then* met the the Duke of Gloucester, at Blackheath; whereas,

it was in the spring of 1801, after attending the Princess for ten or twelve days, that he saw the Duke of Gloucester at her home.

*Hester Lisle* deposed, that she had been in the Princess of Wales's family ever since her Royal Highness's marriage. That witness was with the Princess generally a month at a time, three months in the year, April, August and December; was with her Royal Highness in August, 1802; did not observe any alteration in her Royal Highness's shape which gave witness any idea that she was pregnant; during her attendance, hardly a day passed without witness's seeing her; she could not have been far advanced in pregnancy without her knowing it. That Witness was at East Cliff with the Princess in 1803; she saw Captain Manby once there, she thought in August. The Captain landed there with some boys the Princess took on charity. That witness had seen him at Blackheath; he always went away in her presence; she had no reason to think he staid after the ladies retired. He lodged on the Heath at that time; witness believed his ship was fitting up at Deptford; he was there frequently, three or four times a week, or more; she supposed he might be alone with the Princess; but she was in the habit of seeing gentlemen and tradesmen without witness being present. That the two boys went there with Captain Manby two or three times. That when Captain Manby dined, he always sat next her Royal Highness; the constant company were Mrs. and

Miss Fitzgerald, and witness; they all retired with the Princess and sat in the same room. That Captain Manby generally retired about eleven o'clock; he sat with them till then. Her Royal Highness, the Lady in waiting, and her page, had each a key to the door from the Greenhouse to the Park. That Captain Manby and the Princess used to be conversing separately, but not in a room alone together to witness's knowledge. That he was a person with whom she appeared to have greater pleasure in talking than to her ladies. That she behaved to him only as a woman would who likes flirting. Witness should not have thought any married woman would have behaved properly, who should have behaved as her Royal Highness did to Captain Manby; witness cannot say whether she was attached to Captain Manby, only that it was a flirting conduct; she never saw any gallantries, as kissing her hand, or the like.

Witness further deposed, that she was with her Royal Highness at Lady Sheffield's, in Sussex, last Christmas; on enquiring what company was there, she said, only Mr. John Chester, who was there by her Royal Highness's order; that she could get no other company to meet her, on account of the roads and season of the year; the next day, however, other company came; Mr. Chester remained; that witness heard her Royal Highness say, she had been ill in the night, and had come and lighted her candle in the servant's room. That witness and the Princess returned from Sheffield Place to Blackheath; Captain Moore dined there; that witness left him alone with the

Princess twice for a short time, whilst she went to Cook's, for a book, to complete a set her Royal Highness was lending Captain Moore. That she gave him an inkstand to the best of her recollection. At Lady Sheffield's the Princess paid more attention to Mr. Chester than to the rest of the company; Mr. Chester was a pretty young man. Her attentions to him were not uncommon; not the same as to Captain Manby. Witness was at Catherington with the Princess. Mr. Hood drove the Princess out alone, three or four times, in his little whiskey, his servant with them. That the Princess appeared to pay no attention to him, but that of common civility to an intimate acquaintance. Witness remembered, the Princess sitting to Mr. Lawrence, the painter, for her picture, at Blackheath, and in London; that she has left the Princess at his house in town with him, but thinks Mr. Fitzgerald was with her; witness thinks she sat alone with him at Blackheath; she was never in her Royal Highness's confidence, but she had always been kind to witness; that the Princess never particularly mentioned Captain Manby to witness. That she remembered the Princess being bled the day Lady Sheffield's child was christened; not several times, nor any other time, that witness recollected; nor did she believe the Princess was in the habit of being bled twice in a year. That the Princess, at one time, appeared to like Lady Douglas; Sir John came frequently; Sir Sidney Smith visited about the same time with the Douglasses; that he had been there very late in the even-

ing, but not alone with the Princess; witness had no reason to suspect he had a key to the Park gate. The Princess saw a great deal of company at Mount Edgecombe; Sir Richard Strahan was reported to have spoken freely of the Princess; the Princess told witness she had heard he had spoken disrespectfully of her, and therefore, witness believed, wrote to him by Sir Samuel Hood. This statement was *signed in Downing Street, 3rd July, 1806.*

On the 14th of July, the Commissioners made the following report to his Majesty, which deserves, and should receive particular consideration.

“ May it please your Majesty,  
 “ Your Majesty having been graciously pleased,  
 “ by an instrument, under your Majesty’s Royal  
 “ Sign Manuel, a copy of which is annexed to  
 “ this report, to authorize, empower, and direct  
 “ us to enquire into the truth of certain written  
 “ declarations, touching the conduct of her Royal  
 “ Highness the Princess of Wales, an abstract of  
 “ which had been laid before your Majesty; and  
 “ to examine upon oath, such persons as we  
 “ should see fit, touching and concerning the  
 “ same, and to report to your Majesty, the result  
 “ of such examination. We have in dutiful obedience  
 “ to your Majesty commands, proceeded  
 “ to examine the several witnesses, the copies of  
 “ whose depositions we have hereunto annexed;  
 “ and in further execution of the said commands,

“ we now most respectfully submit to your Ma-  
 “ jesty the report of these examinations, as it has  
 “ appeared to us. But we beg leave at the same  
 “ time, humbly to refer your Majesty, for more  
 “ complete information, to the examinations  
 “ themselves, in order to correct any error of  
 “ judgment, into which we may have uninten-  
 “ tionally fallen, with respect to any part of this  
 “ business. On a reference to the above men-  
 “ tioned declarations, as the necessary foundations  
 “ of all our proceedings, we found that they con-  
 “ sisted of certain statements, which had been  
 “ laid before his Royal Highness the Prince of  
 “ Wales, respecting the conduct of her Royal  
 “ Highness the Princess; that these statements  
 “ not only imputed to her Royal Highness great  
 “ impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but,  
 “ expressly asserted, partly on the ground of cer-  
 “ tain alleged declarations from the Princess’s  
 “ own mouth, and partly on the personal obser-  
 “ vations of the informants, the following most  
 “ important facts, viz. That her Royal Highness  
 “ had been pregnant in the year 1802, in conse-  
 “ quence of an illicit intercourse, and that she  
 “ had, in the same year, been secretly delivered  
 “ of a male child, which child had, ever since that  
 “ period, been brought up by her Royal Highness  
 “ in her own house, and under her immediate in-  
 “ spection.

“ These allegations thus made, had, as we  
 “ found, been followed by declarations from other  
 “ persons, who had not indeed spoken to the

“important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of  
 “her Royal Highness, but had related other par-  
 “ticulars, in themselves extremely suspicious,  
 “and still more so, when connected with the  
 “assertions already mentioned. In the painful  
 “situation in which his Royal Highness was  
 “placed by these communications, we learnt that  
 “his Royal Highness, had adopted the only  
 “course which could, in our judgment, with  
 “propriety be followed. When informations  
 “such as these had been thus confidently alleged,  
 “and particularly detailed, and had been in some  
 “degree supported by collateral evidence, apply-  
 “ing to other points of the same nature, (though  
 “going to a far less extent), one line could only  
 “be pursued. Every sentiment of duty to your  
 “Majesty, and of concern for the public welfare,  
 “required that these particulars should not be  
 “withheld from your Majesty, to whom, more  
 “particularly, belonged the cognizance of a mat-  
 “ter of state, so nearly touching the honour of  
 “your Majesty’s Royal Family, and by possi-  
 “bility affecting the succession of your Majesty’s  
 “Crown. Your Majesty, had been pleased, on  
 “your part, to view the subject in the same light,  
 “considering it as a matter which, on every ac-  
 “count, demanded the most immediate investi-  
 “gation. Your Majesty had thought fit to com-  
 “mit into our hands, the duty of ascertaining, in  
 “the first instance, what degree of credit was  
 “due to the informations, and thereby enabling  
 “your Majesty to decide what further conduct  
 “to adopt concerning them. On this review,

“ therefore, of the matters thus alleged, and of  
 “ the course hitherto pursued upon them, we  
 “ deemed it proper, in the first place, to examine  
 “ those persons, in whose declarations, the oc-  
 “ casion for this Inquiry had originated, because,  
 “ if they on being examined upon oath, had re-  
 “ tracted, or varied from their assertions, all  
 “ necessity of further investigation might possibly  
 “ have been precluded. We accordingly first ex-  
 “ amined on oath, the principal Informants, Sir  
 “ John Douglas, and Charlotte his wife, who both  
 “ positively swore, the former to his having ob-  
 “ served the fact of the pregnancy, of her Royal  
 “ Highness, and the latter, to all the important  
 “ particulars, contained in her former declaration,  
 “ and above referred to. Their examinations are  
 “ annexed to this Report, and are circumstantial  
 “ and positive. The most material of those al-  
 “ legations, into the truth of which we have been  
 “ directed to enquire, being thus far supported  
 “ by the oath of the parties, from whom they had  
 “ proceeded, we then felt it to be our duty, to  
 “ follow up the Inquiry, by the examination of  
 “ such other persons, as we judged best able to  
 “ afford us information as to the facts in question.  
 “ We thought it beyond all doubt, that in this  
 “ course of Inquiry, many particulars must be  
 “ learnt, which would be necessarily conclusive  
 “ on the truth or falsehood of these declarations,  
 “ so many persons, must have been witnesses to  
 “ the appearance of an actually existing preg-  
 “ nancy; also, many circumstances must have  
 “ been attendant upon a real deliver and diffi-

"culties so numerous and insurmountable, must  
 "have been involved in any attempt to account  
 "for the infant in question, as the child of another  
 "woman, if it had been in fact the child of the  
 "Princess, that we entertained a full and confident  
 "expectation of arriving at complete proof,  
 "either in the affirmative or negative, on this  
 "part of the subject.

"This expectation was not disappointed. We  
 "are happy to declare to your Majesty, our perfect  
 "conviction, that there is no foundation  
 "whatever for believing, that the child now with  
 "the Princess, is the child of her Royal Highness,  
 "or that she was delivered of any child, in the  
 "year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us,  
 "which would warrant the belief, that she was  
 "pregnant in that year, or at any period within  
 "the compass of our Inquiries.

"The identity of the child now with the Princess,  
 "its parents, age, the place and the date of  
 "its birth, the time, and the circumstances of its  
 "being first taken under her Royal Highness's  
 "protection, are all established by such a concurrence,  
 "both of positive, and circumstantial  
 "evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no  
 "question on this part of the subject. That  
 "child was beyond all doubt, born in the Brown-  
 "low Street Hospital, on the 11th day of July,  
 "1802, of the body of Sophia Austin; and was  
 "first brought to the Princess's House, in the  
 "month of November following. Neither should  
 "we be more warranted, in expressing any doubt  
 "respecting the alleged pregnancy of the Prin-

“ cess, as stated in the original declarations, a  
 “ fact, so fully contradicted, and by so many wit-  
 “ nesses, to whom, if true, it must in various  
 “ ways be known, that we cannot think it en-  
 “ titled to the smallest credit. The testimonies  
 “ on these two points, are contained in the an-  
 “ nexed depositions and letters. We have not  
 “ partially abstracted them, in this Report, lest  
 “ by any unintentional omission, we might weaken  
 “ their effect, but we humbly offer to your Majes-  
 “ ty this, our clear and unanimous judgment  
 “ upon them, formed upon full deliberation, and  
 “ pronounced without hesitation, on the results  
 “ of the whole Inquiry. We do not, however,  
 “ feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should  
 “ wish it, to close our Report here. Besides the  
 “ allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the  
 “ Princess, those declarations, on the whole of  
 “ which, your Majesty has been pleased to com-  
 “ mand us to enquire and Report, contain, as we  
 “ have already remarked, other particulars res-  
 “ pecting her Royal Highness, such as must, es-  
 “ pecially considering her exalted rank and sta-  
 “ tion, necessarily give occasion to very unfavour-  
 “ able interpretations, from the various deposi-  
 “ tions and proofs, annexed to this Report;  
 “ particularly from the examinations of Robert  
 “ Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and  
 “ Mrs. Lisle; your Majesty will perceive, that  
 “ several strong circumstances of this description,  
 “ have been positively sworn to, by witnesses  
 “ who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of  
 “ any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity,

“ in this respect, we have seen no ground to  
 “ question.

“ On the precise bearing and effects of the  
 “ facts thus appearing, it is not for us to decide;  
 “ these we submit to your Majesty’s wisdom;  
 “ but we conceive it to be our duty, to Report on  
 “ this part of the Inquiry, as distinctly as on the  
 “ former facts, that, as on the one hand, the facts  
 “ of pregnancy and delivery, are to our minds  
 “ satisfactorily disproved: so on the other hand  
 “ we think, that the circumstances to which we  
 “ now refer, particularly those stated to have  
 “ passed between her Royal Highness and Cap-  
 “ tain Manby, must be credited, until they shall  
 “ receive some decisive contradiction; and if true,  
 “ are justly entitled to the most serious consider-  
 “ ation. We cannot close this Report, without  
 “ humbly assuring your Majesty, that it was on  
 “ every account our anxious wish, to have exe-  
 “ cuted this delicate trust with as little publicity  
 “ as the nature of the case would possibly allow;  
 “ and we entreat your Majesty’s permission to  
 “ express our full persuasion, that if this wish has  
 “ been disappointed, the failure is not imputable  
 “ to any thing unnecessarily said or done by us,  
 “ all which is most humbly submitted to your  
 “ Majesty.

(Signed)

ERSKINE,  
 SPENCER,  
 GRENVILLE,  
 ELLENBOROUGH.

June, 14, 1806.

(A true copy) I. BECKET.

It is not a little remarkable, that notwithstanding the nature of this Report, two days after its date, the Earl of Cholmondeley was examined, relative to the hand writing of the Princess of Wales, and as to his opinion, whether the anonymous letters, produced by Sir John and Lady Douglas, were written by the Princess.

The *Earl of Cholmondeley* deposed, that he had seen the Princess of Wales write frequently, and thought he was perfectly acquainted with her manner of writing. On a letter marked (A) being produced to his Lordship, he said, this letter is not of the Princess's handwriting. A paper was produced to his Lordship marked (B) with a kind of drawing of Sir Sidney Smith and Lady Douglas. His Lordship said the paper appeared to him to be written in a disguised hand; some of the letters remarkably resembled the Princess's writing; but because of the disguise he could not say whether it was, or was not her Royal Highness's writing. On the cover being shown to his Lordship also marked (B) he gave the same answer. His Lordship was also shewn the cover marked (C), to which he answered, I do not see the same resemblance to the Princess's writing in this paper. *Sworn July 16, 1806.*

On the 11th of August the Report of the Commissioners and the Depositions were communicated to the Princess of Wales. The next day the Princess wrote to the King denying the truth of the charges, and reminding his Majesty that the whole of the evidence was taken behind her

back, without her having an opportunity to contradict, or to explain any statement.

On the 17th of the same month, the Princess wrote again to the King, complaining that no copies of the *written declarations* which were the foundation of all the proceedings against her, had been sent to her. She desired to know the extent and particulars of the charges, or informations against her ; who were her enemies, whether one or more, and when the declarations were made. She also complained that though the Report was made on the 14th of July, it was not sent to her till the 11th of August. She assured his Majesty that the whole of the charges were alike unfounded, and all parts of the same conspiracy against her.

On the 29th of August she received from the Lord Chancellor copies of the original declarations ; and on the 2nd of October, her important and unanswerable letter in her defence, which was drawn up by and with the advice of the late Mr. Perceval, Lord Eldon, and Sir Thomas Plomer, was transmitted to the King. To this letter, which will be found in the Appendix No. I. page i. particular attention should be paid ; since without such attention the defence of the Princess of Wales, to the whole of the charges preferred against her, cannot be understood ; and many of the statements of Lady Douglas and others might appear to the reader to be unanswered.

This letter was accompanied by depositions of great moment from Captain Manby, Sir Thomas

Lawrence, Mr. Mills, Mr. Edmeades and others, the substance of which will be now detailed.

*Captain Manby* deposed, that the passage in Bidgood's deposition, asserting that "he saw in the reflection of the looking-glass, Captain Manby and the Princess salute each other," &c. was a vile and wicked invention; that it was wholly and absolutely false; that it was impossible he ever could have seen in the reflection of any glass, any such thing; as he never upon any occasion, or in any situation, had the presumption to salute her Royal Highness in any such manner, or take any such liberty, or offer any such insult to her person. That another passage of the same deposition, in which the said Bidgood said, "he suspected "Captain Manby slept frequently in the house," &c. he solemnly deposed was wholly unfounded, and he never did at Montague House, Southend, Ramsgate, East Cliff, or any where else, sleep in any house occupied by or belonging to her Royal Highness, and that there never did any thing pass between her Royal Highness and himself, that he should be, in any degree, unwilling all the world should have seen. *Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton Garden, London, the 22nd September, 1806, before THOMAS LEACH.*

*Mr. Lawrence*, now Sir Thomas Lawrence, President of the Royal Academy, deposed, that in 1801, he did sleep several nights at Montague House, and that frequently, when employed in painting, and occasionally between the close of a day's sitting, and the time of her Royal High-

ness's dressing for dinner, he had been alone with her. That he had seen her in the evenings, and remained till twelve, one and two o'clock; but to the best of his recollection and belief, never alone with her Royal Highness, except once for a short time, in the blue-room or drawing-room, to answer some question which had been put to him at the moment, he as well as the Ladies in waiting, were about to return; and though he could not recollect the particulars of the conversation he solemnly deposed, that nothing passed between her Royal Highness and himself, which he could have had the least objection for all the world to have seen and heard. That he never was alone with her Royal Highness, in any other place and in any other way, than as above described; and, that neither upon the occasion last mentioned, nor upon any other, was he ever with her Royal Highness in any room whatever, with the door locked, bolted, or fastened, otherwise than in the common and usual manner, which leaves it in the power of any person on the outside of the door, to open it. *Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton Garden, the 24th September, 1806, before THOMAS LEACH.*

Before the remainder of the affidavits are inserted, it is necessary to mention an occurrence which took place during the time that the Commission of inquiry was prosecuting its investigations in June. It is noticed here, because it is immediately connected with the deposition of Mr. Edmeades, an abstract of which will be also presented.

It appears by *memorandums of the heads of conversation between Lord Moira, Mr. Lowten, and Mr. Mills*, (Mr. Edmeades's partner) made by Mr. Mills, the day after he had seen Lord Moira, that on the 13th June, 1806, he received a letter from his Lordship, stating that a particular circumstance made him desirous of seeing him, Mr. Mills, on the morrow; at the same time, enjoining him to tell no one of such his request. In consequence of this letter, Mr. Mills waited on his Lordship; after stating the very delicate subject on which he wished to converse, he said, that a domestic of her Royal Highness had deposed that he, Mr. Mills, had declared that the Princess was pregnant. Mr. Mills, immediately informed his Lordship, with some warmth, that such declaration was an infamous falsehood, and that as his character was strongly attacked by it, it ought to be investigated. Mr. Lowten, the Attorney was afterwards introduced, who observed, from the warmth of his, Mr. Mill's, expressing his contradiction to the deposition, that he saw it in a wrong light; that he might suppose, and very innocently, her Royal Highness to be pregnant, and then the inquiries were as innocently made. Mr. Mills replied, he never did think her pregnant, therefore, could not say it; and that, the deposition was an infamous falsehood. His Lordship then observed, he perceived there must be a mistake, and that Mr. Edmeades was the person meant, and whom he wished to see.

*Mr. Edmeades* waited upon his Lordship on the 20th of May. He deposed, relative to that inter-

view, as follows: That he was sent for, by Lord Moira, who introduced him to Mr. Conant, the magistrate. His Lordship asked him, whether he had not said that the Princess was pregnant, and whether he had bled her Royal Highness? He replied, that he had never made any such remark; that it had never entered his mind; that a report of the nature, alluded to, had prevailed, but he treated it as the infamous lie of the day. Lord Moira mentioned the circumstance of her Royal Highness's having taken a child into the house, and how dreadful mistakes about succession to the throne were, and what confusion might be caused by any claim of this child. Mr. Edmeades said he was aware of it, but repeated, that he had never *thought* of such a thing as suggested, and therefore, considered it impossible, in a manner, that he could have given it utterance. Lord Moira, in a very significant manner, with his hands behind him, his head over one shoulder, his eyes directed towards Mr. E. with a sort of smile, observed "that he could not help thinking that there " must be *something* in the servant's deposition:" as if he did not give perfect credit to what deponent had said. He observed that the matter was then confined to the knowledge of a few; and that he had hoped if there had been any foundation for the affidavit, deponent might have acknowledged it, that the affair might have been hushed. With respect to the minor question, Mr. E. observed, that it was not probable he should condescend to ask such a question, as that imputed to him of

a menial servant; and that he was not in the habit of conferring confidentially with servants. Mr. Conant cautioned him to be on his guard, as if it appeared on further investigation he had made such inquiry it might be very unpleasant to deponent, should it come under the consideration of the Privy Council. Mr. E. said, he considered the report as a malicious one, and was ready to make oath, before any magistrate, that he had not at any time asserted or even thought, that her Royal Highness had ever been in a state of pregnancy since he had attended the household. On the questions from Mr. Conant, whether that, *whilst* he was bleeding or after he had bled her Royal Highness, he did not make some comment on her situation, from the state of the blood, and whether he had recommended the operation? He answered in the negative to both. He said that the Princess had sent for him to bleed her, and that he did not recollect on what account; he added, that he had bled her twice, but did not remember the dates. Mr. Edmeades, added, as a memorandum to his deposition, that he had been enabled to state the substance of his interview with Lord Moira and Mr. Conant, with the more particularity, as he made memorandums of it within a day or two afterwards. The substance of their conversation, Mr. Edmeades communicated to the Princess of Wales. *Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton Garden, the 26th September, 1806, before THOMAS LEACH.*

*Jonathan Partridge, porter to Lord Eardley,*

at Belvidere, deposed, that Earl Moira sent for him; he went on the King's birth-day, 1804, his Lordship asked him, whether he remembered the Princess coming to Belvidere House sometime before; he said, "Yes," and also, "that there " were two or three ladies with her Royal Highness, and a gentleman, who came on horseback; " they looked at the pictures in the house, had " their luncheon; and the Princess's servants " waited on them." His Lordship asked, whether they went up stairs; deponent said, "No"; they staid about an hour, waiting some little time for the carriage. Sometime afterwards, his Lordship sent for him again, and asked him if he was sure he said all he could say, respecting the Princess? Deponent said, "Yes," and offered to take his oath of it. *Sworn at the County Court of Middlesex, in Fullwood's Rents, the 25th of September, 1806, before THOMAS LEACH.*

*Philip Krackeler, footman, and Robert Eaglestone, park-keeper, to the Princess of Wales, deposed, that on or about the 28th day of June last, as they were walking across Greenwich Park, they saw Lady Douglas and Mr. Bidgood meet, and stop and converse together for the space of about two or three minutes, whilst in view of deponents, but how much longer their conversations lasted, deponents knew not, as they, deponents, proceeded on their road, out of sight of Lady Douglas and Mr. Bidgood. Sworn at the Public Office, Hatton Garden, the 27th September, 1806, before THOMAS LEACH.*

A faithful history of the whole of this extraordinary transaction, as far as its ramifications can be traced, and also, of the proceedings immediately consequent thereto, having been thus presented, it is necessary to make some observations on the origin and nature of the Commission, and on the evidence adduced to substantiate the charges against the Princess of Wales.

It is to be lamented, that this solemn though secret Inquiry, should appear to have originated in his Royal Highness, the Heir-apparent, because as it was universally known, he had for a long time lived apart from the Princess; and from the letters which passed between them, in 1806, MORALLY HE could have no right to institute any Inquiry, into the conduct of his wife. But it is said, he had advisers, and two of these were Lord Thurlow, and Sir Samuel Romilly. After giving due weight to both these gentlemen's opinions, it is evident that that advice must have been bad, which, when acted upon, tended to lower the Heir-apparent to the Throne, in the eyes of the people, to whom it is always desirable, that they should look with respect and esteem. Whether on account of the *nation*, such an Inquiry, on the mere statements of Sir John and Lady Douglas, ought to have been instituted, is another question; but the Prince should *not* have been made the most prominent party in it; indeed he ought not to have appeared in it at all. It appears, however, that too ready credence was given to the statements of the Douglasses; for although two of their

servants, the Lamperts, were examined, (of whose examinations nothing is known, and therefore, no observations can be made upon them) yet, if *other* servants, who were living, or had lived with Sir John and Lady Douglas, at the period when they were intimate with the Princess of Wales, had been examined, a very different complexion would have been given to the whole affair, as the real character of Lady Douglas must, by these means, have been known. Whoever, therefore, advised and promoted this Inquiry, under the impression that they were discharging "a great public duty," here, at any rate, evinced a great dereliction of it.

The Commission itself was one of those anomalies in jurisprudence, of which it is to be hoped, no repetition will ever occur. In the first place, it was *SECRET*; and the secrecy alone, is its sufficient condemnation. The witnesses were examined separately, and enjoined to secrecy. One was taken from her home, to be examined, at ten o'clock at night. The accused was not present, either by herself or by her counsel; consequently no proper cross-examination could take place. It must occur to every one, that, if the Princess of Wales appeared to be guilty of the high treason, which was laid to her charge by Lady Douglas, (admitting under the peculiar circumstances of the case, that her conduct ought to have been inquired into) it was the bounden duty of those who had the welfare of the state in their hands, to have instituted a solemn, and a *public* exami-

nation and trial, of the accused Lady. Nothing short of this ought to have been attempted. The very existence of a secret tribunal, and the mode of examining the witnesses, excite so much suspicion, and are so opposed to the genius of the English Constitution, as well as to the great principles of justice, that no conclusion, made under such circumstances against the accused, ought to be, for a moment, entertained. The Princess complained most strongly, in her letter to the King, of such tribunals. They have indeed, a taint in their nature from which, it is not possible by any sophistry, that they ever can be freed.

The statements and depositions of Lady Douglas, have been so fully and completely contradicted, by so many respectable and concurrent testimonies, that it can scarcely be necessary to notice further, her evidence and unsupported falsehoods. It may, however, be briefly observed, that, her assertions of the pregnancy and delivery of the Princess, in 1802, were fully disproved by *Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Mary Ann Wilson, Samuel Roberts, Thomas Stikeman, John Sicard, Charlotte Sander, Lady Willoughby, Mr. Edmeades, Mr. Mills, Mrs. Fitzgerald, Sir Francis Milman, and Mrs. Lisle*; that her assertions, that the Princess had told her, the child had come to life at Lady Willoughby's, is disproved by *Lady Willoughby*; that her assertion, that the Princess was present in the room, when she (Lady Douglas) was put to bed, is directly contradicted by *Mrs. Fitzgerald*; and that her assertion, that the ano-

nymous letters were written by the Princess, is disproved by *Mrs. Fitzgerald*, and *Lord Cholmondeley*. That the child, William Austin, which Lady Douglas asserted, was the Princess's, is proved to be the child of Sophia Austin, not only by the mother herself, but by a great number of other witnesses. How Lady Douglas could assert in her deposition, that "independently of the Princess's confessions to her, she could swear, that the Princess was pregnant in 1802," cannot be conceived. Individuals more distinguished than her Ladyship have been deceived in such matters, in the present day. Her Ladyship's revenge and malignity, appear to have entirely overcome in her, the consciousness of the solemnity and sanctity of an oath. It should not be forgotten, that *the proofs of the pregnancy, and delivery, of the Princess, rested SOLELY upon the evidence of Lady Douglas and her husband, and the insinuations of Frances Lloyd*.

The evidence of *Bidgood*, who had lived nearly twenty-three years with the Prince, who might have been supposed to have a bias towards his Royal master, and who was no doubt sufficiently vigilant in watching the conduct of the Princess, was explicit in denying the appearance of her pregnancy; he however, insinuated something improper in the conduct of Sir Sidney Smith and of Captain Manby, which circumstances were satisfactorily explained by other witnesses. Bidgood's *second* deposition, which appears to have been given purposely to render his former

evidence more impressive, relative to the impropriety of conduct, between Captain Manby, and the Princess, was, it should be remembered, dated on the 3rd of July, *five* days only after Lady Douglas had been seen conferring with him in Greenwich Park; and notwithstanding his former evidence, against Sir Sidney Smith, he now said, "that the Princess appeared very attentive to him, but he did not suspect any thing further." The evidence of Bidgood should certainly, then, be received with caution.

*Cole* had also been long a domestic of the Prince, and may be therefore, as well as Bidgood, very reasonably supposed to have entertained a bias for his master. His evidence went to insinuate improper conduct in Sir Sidney Smith, and Mr. Lawrence, which was fully disproved by other, and more credible witnesses. And although he said, that he observed the Princess had grown very large in 1802, yet he added, that he had not an idea that she was with child. It must not be forgotten that *Cole* was discarded from Montague House, at which he was much concerned, and therefore, that circumstance might alone influence him in misrepresenting, or even falsifying facts. An assertion of this witness was privately contradicted by Frances Lloyd, whose evidence deserves attention.

*Frances Lloyd* stated, that she sometimes did not see the Princess for months together. That Mr. Mills had asked her whether the Prince came to Blackheath backwards and forwards, for that

the Princess was with child. Now this was completely refuted by Mr. Mills himself. The account of this gentleman, with his partner Mr. Edmeades's interview with Lord Moria is highly deserving attention. Lloyd insinuated something relative to Captain Manby, which was explained by other witnesses. It is however remarkable, that she denied having told Cole, that Mary Wilson, when she supposed the Princess to be in the library, had gone into the Princess's bed-room, and had found a man there at breakfast with the Princess; so that there was a great deal to do about it, and that Mary Wilson was sworn to secrecy, and threatened to be turned away, if she divulged what she had seen. This circumstance is not mentioned in Cole's deposition, but in his first *declaration*, an abstract of which, or indeed of any of the other witness's *declarations*, has not been thought of sufficient importance to give.

*Townley's* evidence is entitled to no attention.

The remainder of the depositions it is not necessary to notice, further than to observe, that they were made by witnesses of an unimpeachable character, many of them who must have been intimately acquainted with every transaction of the Princess, as being a part of her household. And to suppose that the evidence of Sir John and Lady Douglas, Bidgood, Cole, and Frances Lloyd, ought for one moment to be placed in the balance against such a host, would be to suppose truth falsehood, and falsehood truth.

It appears that Mrs. Lisle's evidence relative to

Captain Manby, gave the Princess the greatest concern. But really, if a female virtually discarded by her husband, is to be denied the society of respectable and intelligent gentlemen and ladies, after being so discarded; if she is to have her conduct watched with the jealousy of a Turkish Sultan, without ever being gratified by the presence of her husband; if she is still to consider her conduct in every respect as though the happiness of her husband was concerned in it, although with his conjugal felicity she could have nothing to do, then, indeed, she might be blamed for the choice of that society, which might in some small degree make up for those comforts and consolations of which she had been for so many years totally deprived.

In concluding these observations on the evidence adduced on this Inquiry, the reader's attention should be directed to the circumstance, that although the motive for which the original Inquiry, in consequence of the declarations of Lady Douglas was begun, had been removed by the total disproof, and utter annihilation of all her statements concerning the Princess, yet that other charges were afterwards made by some other individuals, particularly relative to Sir Sidney Smith and Captain Manby, with which those of Lady Douglas had, apparently nothing to do. That these charges have been satisfactorily disproved to the conviction of every unprejudiced mind, it is confidently assumed. For although it is difficult to agree with the Report of the Commis-

sioners, that "what is stated to have passed between her Royal Highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until it received some decisive contradiction," considering that the evidence on which that opinion was founded, is by no means entitled to the credit which the four Lords thought proper to give it, yet, as the "decisive contradiction" is supplied by Captain Manby's affidavit, this question is for ever set at rest.

As the Princess had been for many months in consequence of this investigation excluded from the Royal Family, and from any communication with his Majesty, who had always shewn the greatest disposition of any branch of his illustrious House to do her justice; she naturally expected that, after the Report of the Commissioners, and the letter containing her defence, that the King would receive her, as he had formerly been accustomed to do. After, however, waiting nine weeks from the period of the transmission of her defence to his Majesty, she wrote him a letter dated the 8th of December, 1806, complaining of not having heard from his Majesty, and most feelingly deplored the delay.

On the 28th of January, 1807, she received a note from his Majesty, informing her, that the King having referred to his confidential servants the proceedings and papers respecting her conduct, had been apprized by them, after the fullest consideration, that they agreed in the opinions contained in the Report of the four Lords; and that it was their opinion that the facts

of the case did not warrant their advising, that any further steps should be taken by his Majesty's government upon it, except such only as his Majesty's Law Servants might think fit to recommend, for the prosecution of Lady Douglas on those parts of her depositions which appeared justly liable thereto. That his Majesty was advised, it was no longer necessary for him to decline receiving the Princess into his Royal Presence. That the King saw with satisfaction the decided proof of the falsehood of the accusation of pregnancy and delivery, brought forward against her by Lady Douglas. But that there were other circumstances stated against her, which he regarded with serious concern, and he desired and expected that such conduct might in future be observed by the Princess, as might fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection which he always wished to shew to every part of the Royal Family. His Majesty added, that he had directed, that copies of the proceedings should be communicated to the Prince of Wales.

The next day the Princess wrote a note to his Majesty, requesting permission to wait upon him the Monday following at Windsor, or that he would name some other early day for that purpose. To this a reply was returned the same day from Windsor, informing her that his Majesty preferred receiving her in London, upon a day subsequent to the ensuing week, and of which he would apprise her.

On the tenth of February the Princess received

a note from the King, purporting, that as the Princess of Wales might have been led to expect from the King's letter to her, that he would fix an early day for seeing her, his Majesty thought it right to acquaint her, that the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents concerning her conduct, made a formal communication to him, of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers; and that his Majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the Prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to him the statement which he proposed to make. The King, therefore, deferred naming a day, until the result of the Prince's intention should be known.

To this note the Princess, on the 12th, addressed a letter, beseeching his Majesty to recal his last determination, and informing him that she should, without delay, represent to him the various grounds upon which she felt the hardship of her case. She said, after suffering the punishment of banishment from his Majesty for seven months, pending an Inquiry affecting both her life and her honour; after the determination of that Inquiry, and the opinion of his sworn servants, that there was no longer any reason for his Majesty declining to receive her; after his Majesty deciding to receive her at an early day; after all this, she now found a renewed application on the part of the Prince of Wales, upon whose communication the first Inquiry had been directed; and that that punishment, which had been inflicted pending a seven

months Inquiry, was to be continued, and that she was to wait the result of some new proceeding suggested by the legal advisers of the Prince of Wales.

On the 16th of the same month, the Princess, according to her last communication, sent the King a long letter explaining the various grounds on which she felt the hardship of her case. This letter will be found in Appendix No. I.

On the fifth of March, her Royal Highness transmitted another letter to the King. She began by informing his Majesty, that she had hoped to have heard from him, and to have received his commands to pay her duty to him, in his Royal presence. That hope being disappointed, she determined to wait a few days longer, before she took a step, which, when once taken, could not be recalled. Having, however, assured herself that his Majesty was in town, on the 4th, and not having received any command to wait upon him, she abandoned all hope, and informed the King, that the publication of the proceedings alluded to, would not be withheld beyond the Monday following.

Soon after this letter was sent, the Ministry, of which Lord Grenville was the head, retired from office, and were succeeded by those who were confessedly the friends of the Princess. It was therefore natural to suppose, that the most complete justice would be done her. The new administration was formed of the very men, who had so resolutely and so fully espoused, and de-

fended her cause, and who so openly and undisguisedly, declared to his Majesty their full conviction of her innocence. The situation of her Royal Highness was, however, in the mean time, most irksome and harassing. She was well aware that the great obstacle to her reception at Court, rested with her mother-in-law and not with his Majesty himself; and so long as the Grenville Administration remained in office, which was known to be favourable to the views of the Queen, no hopes could be entertained of her restoration to her dignity and rank at Court.

In less than a month after the new Ministers came into office, the following minute of Council was determined upon.

“MINUTE OF COUNCIL, *April 22, 1807.*

Present,

Lord Chancellor, (ELDON).

Lord President, (CAMDEN).

Lord Privy Seal, (WESTMORELAND).

The Duke of PORTLAND.

The Earl of CHATHAM.

The Earl BATHURST.

Viscount CASTLEREAGH.

Lord MULGRAVE.

Mr. Secretary CANNING.

Lord HAWKESBURY.

“Your Majesty’s confidential servants have, in obedience to your Majesty’s commands, most atten-

tively considered the original charges and report, the minutes of evidence, and all the other papers submitted to the consideration of your Majesty on the subject of those charges against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

“ In the stage in which this business is brought under their consideration, they do not feel themselves called upon to give any opinion as to the proceeding itself, or to the mode of investigation, in which it has been thought proper to conduct it. But adverting to the advice, which is stated by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to have directed his conduct, your Majesty’s confidential servants are anxious to impress upon your Majesty, their conviction, that his Royal Highness could not, under such advice, consistently with his public duty, have done otherwise than lay before your Majesty the statements and examinations which were submitted to him on this subject.

“ After the most deliberate consideration, however, of the evidence which has been brought before the Commissioners, and of the previous examinations, as well as of the answer and observations which have been submitted to your Majesty upon them, they feel it necessary to declare their decided concurrence, in the clear and unanimous opinion of the Commissioners, confirmed by all your Majesty’s late confidential servants, that the two main charges alleged against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, of pregnancy and delivery, are completely disproved; and they further submit to your Majesty, their

unanimous opinion, that all other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her Royal Highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, *are satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence* of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it, in the judgment of your Majesty's confidential servants, undeserving of credit.

“Your Majesty's confidential servants, therefore, concurring in that part of the opinion of your late servants, as stated in their minute of the 25th of January, that there is no longer any necessity for your Majesty being advised to decline receiving the Princess into your Royal presence, humbly submit to your Majesty, that it is essentially necessary, in justice to her Royal Highness, and for the honour and interests of your Majesty's illustrious family, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, should be admitted with as little delay as possible, into your Majesty's Royal presence, and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station, in your Majesty's Court and Family.

“Your Majesty's confidential servants, also beg leave to submit to your Majesty, that considering that it may be necessary that your Majesty's Government should possess the means of referring to the state of this transaction, it is of the utmost importance that these documents, demonstrating the grounds on which your Majesty proceeded, should be preserved in safe custody; and that for that purpose the originals, or authentic copies of these papers, should be sealed up and deposited

in the office of your Majesty's Principal Secretary of State."

The Ministers, did not, however, stop here, but decided upon the following separate minute, which appeared on the same day as the preceding.

" Your Majesty's confidential servants think it necessary to notice, in a separate minute, the request of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that for her more convenient attendance at your Majesty's Court, some apartment should be allotted to her, in one of the Royal palaces; although it appears to your Majesty's confidential servants, that some arrangement in this respect may be supposed naturally to arise out of the present state of this transaction, yet they humbly conceive, that this is a subject so purely of a private and domestic nature, that your Majesty would not expect from them, any particular advice respecting it."

In consequence of these minutes her Royal Highness was received at Court, and apartments were assigned to her in Kensington Palace. She was not, however, on the same footing either at Court, or in the Royal Family, as she had formerly been. It is remarkable that when she appeared at Court on his Majesty's birthday, the 4th June, 1807, as she passed through the presence chamber and other rooms where the spectators were assembled, they received her with clapping of hands, and on her return from the drawing-room, the same mark of respect was shewn her. An occurrence in such a place is very extraordinary and unusual, and

evinced that sympathy in the sufferings and feelings of her Royal Highness which the British public ever displayed towards her. Her triumph was now, therefore, complete; and having gained the object of her wishes, she seldom appeared at Court, except on his Majesty's birthday; she lived almost in a state of complete estrangement from the Royal Family; and dedicated her time in acts of benevolence, and the improvement of her own mind.

On a review of the whole of these extraordinary transactions, it may be emphatically enquired, why, after the complete refutation of the falsehoods and calumnies of Lady Douglas, which occurred, was she not prosecuted for her perjuries? According to the principles and practice of our jurisprudence, such a prosecution ought to have been immediately instituted by the Attorney General; more especially after the notice given to the Princess by the King on the 28th January, 1807, 'that his Majesty's Government did not advise that any further step should be taken in the business, except such only as his Majesty's Law Servants might, on reference to them, think fit to recommend, for the prosecution of Lady Douglas, on those parts of her depositions which might appear to them justly liable thereto.' No such step was, however, taken by them, nor by the subsequent Administration, in which Mr. Perceval, as well as so many other of the Princess's professed friends obtained a place. What were the sentiments of these friends on this subject, may be ascertained from a

declaration of LORD CASTLEREAGH in his place in the House of Commons, March 5, 1813; who on a debate upon a question relative to the Princess, said, "That if the affidavits of profligate persons were to be sanctioned, where would be the end of such attempts. Fortunately there never was a case that could excite so little hesitation. If proceedings had not been instituted against Sir John and Lady Douglas, it did not arise from any doubt in the minds of those Law Officers as to the punishment that would be brought down upon their degraded and guilty heads; but it was from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public."

What was the real reason for not prosecuting Sir John and Lady Douglas, it is not very easy to divine; that alleged by Lord Castlereagh is most certainly not a satisfactory one. It has been often insinuated, that if the conspiracy against the life and honour of the Princess of Wales, did not originate in, it was fostered and brought to maturity by persons connected with Carlton House; and the evidence of Bidgood and Cole very much favours that opinion. And if the Douglasses, and Bidgood, and Cole, were the "suborned traducers," to which her Royal Highness alluded in her letter to the Prince, dated January 13, 1813, (and which will be hereafter referred to,) the impunity with which the Knight and his Lady were suffered to continue at large, cannot excite surprise.

This impunity, the report that Bidgood had

received a pension of £150 a year, and the direct interference of the Prince of Wales in promoting the Inquiry, and in entering his caveat to prevent the Princess's being received at Court, have thrown a suspicious veil around this part of the proceedings, which will not be very soon dissipated.

It should also be noticed, although not strictly in the order of time, connected with this matter, that when the affairs of the Princess of Wales were agitated in Parliament in the year 1813, Sir John and Lady Douglas offered in a petition to the House of Commons, to reswear to the truth of their former depositions concerning the conduct of the Princess of Wales! No proceedings, of course, took place in consequence of this attempt still to propagate their calumnies; but a motion was made by Mr. C. Johnstone, a few days afterwards in the House of Commons, resolving, *That the Petition of Sir John and Lady Douglas ought to be regarded as an audacious attempt to give a colour of truth in the eyes of the nation, to evidence which they had delivered touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and which evidence was a foul and detestable endeavour to bring the life and honour of her Royal Highness into danger and suspicion.* This resolution could not, however, be passed, in consequence of the House not being in possession of the evidence; but many members expressed their agreement with the sentiments of the resolution.

To the private history of the Princess of Wales, during the eventful period of her life to which this chapter is devoted, some attention should now be paid.

From the period when appointed to the Ranger-ship of Greenwich Park, up to the time of her embarkation for the Continent, her life was private, and her occupations principally intellectual and retired. At Montague House she did not indeed constantly reside. She visited several watering places of eminence, and by the affability of her manners, and her attention to those who had no claims on her notice, ensured to herself a general and just attachment.

The separation of the Princess Charlotte of Wales from her mother, and the formation of a separate establishment for her, at Shrewsbury House, tended greatly to distress the feelings of the Princess, but to that separation she afterwards became more reconciled, and regarded the measure as necessary and wise.

In the year 1802, an intelligent and well informed German traveller, Joachim Henry Campe, visited this country, and in a German work subsequently written by him, entitled "a Tour through England and France, in a series of letters addressed to a young friend in Germany," he has admirably described the occupations of her Royal Highness at this period. To her he was introduced, and for some time enjoyed her society. The letter which recorded his visit to the Princess has been translated, and is here transcribed.

"I went," said he, "a day or two ago, to visit the Princess of Wales, at her residence on Blackheath. The Princess herself conducted me over her grounds, which have been planned and laid out under her immediate direction, and she herself superintends their cultivation. I admired the careful manner in which every inch of ground is turned to profitable account, and also the excellent order, and judicious combination of the useful and the agreeable, which are every where visible. I was delighted with the neat little flowerbeds; but on my remarking that they were somewhat small, I was doubly pleased to hear the Princess reply, that she did not wish, merely for the sake of gratifying the eye, to waste ground which might be far more usefully employed. My attention was particularly attracted by the tasteful, and highly convenient arrangement, of a small summer house in the garden, by which the noble-minded and benevolent Princess has solved the problem of uniting elegance and comfort, with the strictest economy of space; for she has proved by a most ingenious plan, that a building two stories high, occupying a square area of only eighteen feet in diameter, may be rendered a neat and perfectly commodious residence for a small family."

"The Princess conducted me to her favourite seat; namely, a little elevated chair placed at one end of the garden, shaded by a groupe of elder trees, whose branches opening in the form of an arch, displayed one of the finest prospects of the

surrounding country. She then invited me to view, what she termed the most important part of her grounds. This surprised me, for I thought I had seen all; but the Princess smiled, and led the way to a large potatoe field, "This, said she, "I prize more than all, here I endeavour to merit "the honourable name of an English farmer; and "that not merely for the sake of amusement—the "potatoes which I grow here, are sent to London "to be sold, and they produce a trifling sum "annually." It is easy to guess the purpose to which this trifling sum is applied.

"May I venture further to betray the secrets of the active and benevolent life, which the future Queen of the most powerful nation in the world leads in her humble mansion, at Blackheath!—I will do so, though it be with the risk of offending her, should she ever arrive at the knowledge of my treachery; but I must give vent to the feelings of my heart. Unfortunately, the acts of charity and goodness, to which I was myself an eye-witness, and which were confirmed by all with whom I conversed on the subject, are of rare occurrence in the exalted sphere of life to which the Princess belongs.

"I defy any philosophic director of labour to do more, under similar circumstances, than is effected by this active and accomplished young Princess in her retirement. She holds no Court, observes no state, and keeps no retinue of Court-martials, Chamberlains, Ladies in waiting, &c.—but she enjoys the society of two friends, (as she

herself cordially terms them), namely, the amiable and intelligent Mrs. Fitzgerald and her daughter. The Princess usually devoted the whole of the forenoon, that is to say, from six in the morning to seven in the evening, to reading and writing, the cultivation of various arts, such as music, painting, embroidery, modelling, gardening, and to *the education of youth*. This will of course surprize you, when you consider how unusual it is for Royal personages to pursue an occupation, which can possess but few attractions for those accustomed to the idle and frivolous amusements of Courts. But you will be still more astonished when I add, that this benevolent Lady educates, not the young Princess her daughter, *but eight or nine poor orphan children, to whom she supplies the place of a mother*. The Princess Charlotte is the *child of the state*, and cannot, unfortunately, according to the laws of the British Constitution, enjoy the advantage of being educated under the eye of her excellent mother. The Princess of Wales supports, at her own expence, the poor children above mentioned. She boards them with respectable persons in her own neighbourhood, while she personally superintends their education, for which purpose they are brought to her every day.

“To the latest hour of my life I shall ever bear in recollection the interesting scene which I had the happiness to witness during my visit to Blackheath. The Princess ordered her foster children to be brought in. We were seated at table, where the Princess, Mrs. Fitzgerald and her daughter

breakfasted, while I, after the German fashion, took my early dinner.\* The children entered, clothed in a style of neatness and simplicity, and they appeared, in all respects, like the children of respectable country people. They seemed to be totally unconscious of the exalted rank of their Benefactress; though I, being a stranger, seemed by my presence to place them under some degree of restraint. This bashfulness, however, soon wore away, and the children seemed to be perfectly at home. The Princess conversed with them in an easy, familiar and truly motherly style; she spoke first to the one and then to the other, and at length, to a little boy of five or six years of age, who had an eruption in his face. Many an affected woman would probably have turned in disgust even from her own child in such a state; but not so the Royal foster-mother of these poor orphans. She took the boy on her lap, gave him some pastry, examined his face to ascertain how far it had recovered since she last saw it, and evinced no displeasure at the carresses of the grateful child. During the time I was in London, I never saw, either at Covent Garden or Drury Lane, the two principal theatres of the British metropolis, a scene which so deeply moved and interested me. *Honi soit qui mal y pense!* I exclaimed within myself.

\* The author, in one of his previous letters, mentions, that on receiving an invitation from a lady of high rank, (and he evidently alludes to the Princess,) she very kindly proposed, in consideration of his infirm state of health, that he should dine at his usual hour, namely, twelve or one o'clock.

“The words which the amiable Princess herself made use of on the occasion above alluded to, are indelibly engraven in my memory. “I have been blamed,” said she, “for not doing more for these children, since I have undertaken to bring them up. I have been told that I ought to dress them better, and that I should employ masters to instruct them in every branch of polite education. But I laugh at these reproaches; for I feel convinced, that the course which I am now pursuing is the best. I do not wish that these children should be elevated above the sphere of life in which Providence has placed them. It is my intention to make them good, useful and happy members of society. The boys shall be able and active seamen, which is a profession suited to them as Englishmen, and the girls diligent and notable housewives. All that is requisite and useful either for the one or the other, I freely permit them to learn; but every thing superfluous is excluded from the plan of education which I have laid down for them. Whoever reflects on the follies and vices of the upper ranks of society, will carefully guard against removing the children of the poorer classes from their happy condition, and elevating them to a higher sphere, in spite of fate.—”

“What say you to the sound good sense which is here manifested in every word?”

“Thus in the very bloom of life, this excellent Princess spends day after day in active benevolence. At dinner in the evening, she usually col-

lects around her a small party, composed, as I am informed, of some of the best and most intelligent individuals in the kingdom. She is happily freed from the constraint of court ceremony; and consequently, in the selection of her guests, merit alone decides her choice. On Court days, when the Royal Family are all assembled together, she drives to London to join the illustrious circle, of which she is the brightest ornament. She is a stranger at all public places of amusement, frequented by the gay and fashionable world. During her residence in England, she has only twice visited the theatre, and that shortly after her arrival. This appears the more extraordinary, considering how completely the future Queen of England enjoys the love and esteem of all classes of people, and that she, consequently, avoids a triumph whenever she withdraws herself from the public gaze.

“The young Princess Charlotte is every week brought to Blackheath to visit her Royal mother, with whom she remains the whole day. These visits might be oftener repeated, but the Princess, on very prudent grounds, denies herself the too frequent recurrence of an enjoyment which must be dear both to her child and herself.—“If,” said she, “the child were brought to me every day, “I should, perhaps, occasionally find it necessary “to speak to her in an authoritative and severe “tone. She would then love me less, and what I “said would make less impression on her heart. As “it is, however, we are continually new to each

“other. When the child visits me, I speak to her, only in terms of affection; and the consequence is, that her whole soul is devoted to me, and every word I address to her produces the desired effect.”

“I was a witness to the truth of these remarks. The sincere affection of the young Princess towards her Royal Mother, is such as is seldom equalled in so elevated a sphere of life. She gazed steadfastly, and almost without intermission on the beautiful eyes of her mother. And what a countenance! I never before beheld so intelligent and penetrating an expression, in the features of so young a child. When she first turned to look at me, her eyes seemed to pierce me through. The most skilful physiognomist could not have cast a more penetrating glance on one, whose character he wished to scan in a moment.

“The young Princess is, fortunately for herself, brought up in a style of the utmost simplicity. Neither her dress nor her manners afford the least indication of the high destiny which she will one day be called upon to fill. Her dress is so extremely plain, and her manners so unaffected and natural, that had I seen her any where else, I should never have guessed her to be the future heiress to the British Crown. But in any dress and in any place, I should certainly have regarded her as a most extraordinary child. Her accomplished mother has made a model of her bust, from which several plaister-casts have been taken, which present a strong likeness of the young Princess.

"In acquiring the beautiful art of modelling, the Princess of Wales adopted a method of her own. Instead of following the usual course, which consists in modelling for a length of time from copies, she merely took lessons on the handling of the tools, and the use of the materials. She then selected a particular passage from some favourite poem; and from her own fancy created a representation of the ideal character described by the poet. Burger's *Leonora* furnished her with a subject for her first attempt. The Princess represented the heroine of the poem precisely as her own imagination pictured her. The second production of the Royal Artist was the venerable head of an English Nobleman, whose name I have forgotten;—and she next modelled the bust of the young Princess her daughter.

"This reminds me of another ingenious art in which the Princess of Wales likewise excels; and of which I had an opportunity of seeing some beautiful specimens executed by her own hands. As we were passing through her study, (which contains a small, but valuable collection of books, and every requisite material for painting, modelling, &c.) she called my attention to a beautiful little table, and pointing to the top, asked me what I thought it was. I looked at it for a few moments, and immediately replied, that it appeared to me to be Mosaic work of the finest execution. But the Princess smiled, and said, "that it cannot be, for I who know nothing of Mosaic work, completed it myself in the space of

a few hours. It is," she added, "nothing more than a polished plate of glass, on which natural flowers, (which must be previously dried and flattened,) are fixed with a little gum. The glass is then reversed, the smooth side being placed upwards, and this produces a deception which few are able to detect." The whole art, or rather the only trouble, which this simple work requires, consists in arranging the flowers, so that the one may not become entangled with the other, and also that as little space as possible may be left between each. As however, the glass plate cannot possibly be entirely covered with the flowers, I imagine, (though I unfortunately neglected to ascertain the fact,) that the little interstices are fitted up with colours. The whole presents precisely the effect of the most exquisite Mosaic work.

"In this manner the Princess has made a Chinese lamp for one of her apartments, which diffuses a soft and steady light, like the lamps of painted glass, or transparent alabaster. Another table in the Princess's study, the top of which appeared to be composed of the smallest fragments of every possible variety of marble, proved to my astonishment to be merely a plate of glass, covered with flowers, and reversed in the way above described. At each corner was a small copper-plate print, representing an antique figure, gummed on in the same manner as the flowers.

"I shall make no apology, my dear Edward, for this digression, I am convinced that you will

feel highly gratified with this little sketch of the mode of life which the future Queen of Great Britain has prescribed for herself, and which she pursues with a degree of steadiness and perseverance, which seem to surpass the powers of her sex."

This testimony of Mr. Campe, so interesting and so gratifying, is nevertheless most accurate. His character as an eminent writer, entitles him to notice, but his veracity is also undoubted. And if these statements be indeed correct, how ill do the charges made by Lady Douglas accord with such occupations, and such sentiments.

In 1804, the question as to the future education of the Princess Charlotte, became a topic of family consideration. The Prince of Wales claimed the privilege of educating his daughter, partly from a desire to prevent her more frequent visits to her mother, whose character he considered as improper and unfitted for his daughter, and above all, whom *he* did not love. The King was, however, averse to the education of the Princess Charlotte by her father, and insisted on the equal right of her mother to instruct their daughter, but yet claimed for himself that right exclusively, and required that she should become a child of the state. The Prince of Wales remonstrated against such conduct, and pronounced the separation to be an insult offered by the King to him. Such measure he doubtless coupled with the refusal of the King, in the previous year, to allow him a command in the army above that of a Colonel of

Dragoons, and the Prince was not a little displeased with his father. The Princess of Wales, during the whole of this discussion, was much interested, and repeatedly applied to the King on the subject. The Prince refused to relinquish the point, and the King contended for the right. The latter pleaded precedent and law, and was supported by the wishes of the Princess; the former urged that nothing but strong particular reasons could justify the taking of the Prince's children from his care, for that the very transference must be founded on the supposition of error or misconduct in him, and with prejudices so excited, perhaps artfully encouraged, it might not be easy afterwards to reconcile the filial reverence, and obedience, and duty of a child. Again the King contended that "strong particular reasons" did exist, and that necessity as well as law, precedent, and the wishes of the mother, therefore required that he should become the guardian of his grandchild. The kindness of the King, and the affection he felt for the Princess of Wales, was at this period eminently displayed. On one occasion after the separation of the Prince from the Royal Family for some time, and after an interview had taken place to effect, if possible, a reconciliation and settlement of this affair, the King addressed to the Princess of Wales the following letter:

“ Windsor Castle, November 13, 1804.

“ My dearest Daughter-in-law, and Niece,

“ Yesterday I and the rest of my family, had  
 “ an interview with the Prince of Wales, at  
 “ Kew. Care was taken on all sides, to avoid all  
 “ subjects of altercation or explanation, conse-  
 “ quently, the conversation was neither instruc-  
 “ tive nor entertaining, but, it leaves the Prince  
 “ of Wales in a situation, to shew whether his  
 “ desire to return to his family, is only verbal, or  
 “ real, which time alone can shew. I am not  
 “ idle in my endeavours to make inquiries that  
 “ may enable me to communicate some plan, for  
 “ the advantage of the dear child, you and me,  
 “ with so much reason must interest ourselves:  
 “ and its effecting my having the happiness of  
 “ living more with you, is no small incentive to  
 “ my forming some ideas on the subject; but  
 “ you depend on their being not decided upon  
 “ without your thorough and cordial concurrence;  
 “ for your authority, as mother, it is my object  
 “ to support,

Believe me, at all times,

My dearest Daughter-in-Law, and Niece,

Your most affectionate

Father-in-law, and Uncle,

GEORGE R.”

The promise contained in the latter part of this letter, the King punctually fulfilled, and all the subsequent arrangements which were made relative to the Princess Charlotte, whilst his Ma-

jesty remained capable of exercising his authority, were never entered into, without a previous reference to the Princess of Wales.

In the spring of 1805 she passed some time with the King at Windsor; when he paid her the most marked attention, and at her departure, presented her with two beautiful Arabian horses and an elegant gold service.

In the year 1806 her mind was greatly distressed, and her feelings agitated by the death of her beloved father, who was killed at the battle of Jena, on the 10th of November, 1806.

The intelligence of his death occasioned to her long mental distress, and his virtues and excellencies, she daily recorded with tears and regrets. To her beloved mother and other relatives she wrote, and endeavoured to offer that consolation to others which she refused herself. In addition to the sufferings of her mind, she had also at this time to endure those of the body; for whilst in mourning for her illustrious father, she caught the measles of her young protégé William Austin, whom she nursed during his indisposition. Nor were such the only sufferings of this eventful period, for the charges made by Lady Douglas, were now distressing her mind, and wounding her heart.

Without, therefore, a husband to protect her, a father to defend her, or an intimate friend to sooth her, unhappy in mind, and diseased in body, and the victim of malice and conspiracy, she concluded the year 1806.

## CHAPTER VI.

MEMOIRS OF THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE OF HER MAJESTY, FROM 1806 TO 1814, INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF HER EMBARKATION FOR THE CONTINENT, AND ARRIVAL AT BRUNSWICK.

**T**HE means taken to degrade her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, having proved abortive, there was now a probability and a hope that her future life might be more happy, if not more splendid. And as she was restored to the Court of her Royal Father-in-law, and had his countenance and protection, she had, at this period, of no new grievance to complain.

In consequence of the death of the Duke of Brunswick, at the battle of Jena, in 1806, her mother, the Duchess, finding the Continent, in consequence of the war, in a very unsettled state, determined to retire to England, where she arrived on the 9th July, 1807. Her arrival was hailed by her daughter, the Princess of Wales, with every demonstration of affection. No sooner had the Princess heard of her being in the Clyde Frigate, at Gravesend, than she hastened to meet her, and had an immediate interview with her in the vessel, which lasted for upwards of two hours. The Princess and the Duchess then landed, and were received by the Mayor and Corporation, who

addressed to the Duchess their written congratulations.

They then proceeded to Montague House, where the Duchess remained for some time, receiving the visits of various branches of the Royal Family. In the course of a few weeks, a house was provided for her by his Majesty, at Blackheath.

The Princess of Wales now passed her time in retirement and tranquillity. The visits of his Majesty to Montague House, were, from the period of her being received again into favour, very frequent, and the arrival of the Duchess of Brunswiok contributed still more to increase his affectionate attentions.

The year 1809 is chiefly to be distinguished in the life of her Royal Highness, in consequence of embarrassment in her pecuniary affairs, and also, from an advertisement which appeared in some of the public papers, relative to the celebrated book, written by Mr. Perceval. At this time a deed of separation was signed by the Prince and Princess, in which it was stipulated, that the debts of the Princess, to the amount of £49,000, were to be paid by the Prince, he being exonerated from all future demands, except an addition of £5,000 per annum, making with the former £17,000, £22,000 per annum. This arrangement was also sanctioned by the King.

About this period, she rarely appeared in public; seldom visited the theatres; and during the years 1807, 1808, and 1809, she was only at

Court on those occasions, on which her absence would have been manifestly improper.

On the 29th of October, 1810, the first bulletin of the mental indisposition of his Majesty, in consequence, it was supposed, of the death of the Princess Amelia, was issued by his Physicians at Windsor; from which indisposition he never recovered, and from which period the Princess of Wales was exposed to fresh troubles and persecutions.

The appointment, however, of a restricted Regency, during the year 1811, prevented, for some time, any attacks on the happiness of her Royal Highness; especially as no Drawing Rooms were held by the Queen during the continuance of the restrictions. Soon after such restrictions, on his Royal Highness as Regent, were removed, the conduct of the Ministry, with Mr. Perceval at their head, and of the Court, was more decidedly hostile.

On the 20th of April, 1812, a message was sent to the House of Commons from the Prince Regent, requesting the House to take into consideration the propriety of making such a provision for their Royal Highnesses the *Princesses*, as might be thought suitable. On the Monday following an animated discussion took place, but no mention was made of the *Princess of Wales*.

Mr. Tierney said he did not know why the Princess of Wales appeared in her present situation. It was said the Prince and Princess were separated. It might be so, but as a member of

Parliament, he knew nothing of it. There might be very good reasons for their being separate, but he did not know what they were. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval) knew a great deal about it. He knew whether the separation were just or not; but Mr. Tierney said he was surprised to see the Chancellor of the Exchequer's favourite Princess left on the scanty allowance at present allotted to her. Arrangements might have been made of a very amicable nature, but he knew nothing of them; but this he knew, that the wife of the Prince Regent, who represented the Queen as much as the Regent did the King, was passed over unnoticed and neglected, under the protection of the right honourable gentleman, who was formerly her loudest champion.

Mr. Bennet hoped, also, that some information would be given respecting the Princess of Wales; and asked why she should not be treated as a Queen of this country. He also alluded to the suppression of BOOKS intended for her vindication.

Mr. Whitbread also pressed the propriety of inquiry as to the situation of the Princess of Wales, and alluded to the BOOK, which Mr. Perceval had been formerly ready to circulate through this country and Europe; but which, he had since suppressed; for what reason he knew not.

In reply to these observations, Mr. Perceval said, with regard to the separation of the Royal Persons he should say nothing. And as to what he was bound to do as affected his own character and conduct, he should always judge for himself. He had

no objection to state, that neither as counsel to her Royal Highness, nor as minister, nor in any other capacity, could he recollect any thing to bring as a charge against her Royal Highness, nor did he entertain any opinion calculated to throw the slightest reflection on her. Further than this he should not state. As to the situation of her Royal Highness, he had no instruction to propose any additional grant, but if Parliament could be induced to think favourably of the measure, he for one should be inclined to give that disposition full effect.

The resolution for adding £6,000 per annum to the income of the Princesses Augusta, Sophia, Elizabeth, and Mary, was then agreed to. Nothing further occurred in Parliament, at that time, relative to the Princess of Wales.

The Book having been thus publicly alluded to, considerable attention was of course excited to the subject. Advertisements, relative thereto, and various rumours respecting "*the Delicate Investigation*," had, however, long before this time, served to amuse and engage the public attention. But of this extraordinary book nothing was with certainty known. The public expectation was for a long time intense, and the anxiety to possess a copy of this mysterious document was unusually great.

Early in the year 1807, the Princess of Wales, in a correspondence with his Majesty, complained of the delays which had taken place in her not being restored to his Majesty's presence and favour;

and such correspondence, and the publication of the proceedings relative to the charges of Lady Douglas seemed to her, under the present circumstances, to be almost the only remaining source for the vindication of her honour and character. These proceedings were arranged by Mr. Perceval, and have since been designated by the title of the *Book*. This book was printed, it appears by the order and under the direction of Mr. Perceval himself, at or about this period. The printing of the work was intrusted to the care of Mr. Edwards, of Crane Court, Fleet Street; and a member of Parliament was a confidential assistant. The proof-sheets were sent to an *ostensible* editor at the west-end of the town, who conveyed them to his master, and in due time returned them for impression. The number worked off was only 5000 copies; and this small number has been mentioned as a proof that the Book was never intended for the public eye; but most probably for a more important purpose. In the printing of this work, the most profound secrecy was observed; the whole of the 5000 copies which were printed, *except two*, were delivered at the house of the principal in the transaction; and soon after Mr. Perceval was appointed first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, the book was suppressed, and her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales deserted by her former counsellor and adviser, Spencer Perceval.

It however happened, notwithstanding the care with which the copies of this book were trans-

few never reached  
had been prepared for  
es, falling into the  
editor of a daily paper,  
he is said to have ob-  
success induced others,  
apply for a similar re-  
from £500, to £750, were  
tantly termed each par-  
extraordinary book.  
proprietor of a news-  
copy, and who had given  
permission to reprint the vo-  
the Chancellor was issued  
him from parting with  
of the book, or copies,  
from the same, under the  
subsequently, a negotiation  
person, and the copy was  
thousand guineas, with  
that all the copies  
and that he should desist  
answer to the injunction.  
for getting in the work  
wishes of the minister,  
it was advertised;  
circumstance appeared in the  
March 24th, 1809, headed,  
Book! a Book!  
advertisement appeared yester-  
paper."

“ A Book.—Any person having in their possession a copy of a certain book, printed by Mr. Edwards, in 1807, but never published, with W. Lindsell’s name as the seller of the same on the title page, and will bring it to W. Lindsell, bookseller, Wimpole Street, will receive a handsome gratuity.”

The same advertisement appeared in the Times paper, three days afterwards.

The suppression of this book, the circumstances connected with it, and elevation of the right honourable Spencer Perceval to the important and responsible situation of Prime Minister of this country, and his subsequent behaviour, relative to his former friend and client, the Princess of Wales; who, when pressed in Parliament, observed, that *he could not recollect any thing which it was possible to bring as a charge against her Royal Highness*, afford abundant matter for the most serious reflections. The versatility of the politician, the tergiversation of the lawyer, and the weakness and versality of those who are looking up to the sunshine of Royal favour, do not less astonish us by their cool and courtier-like dissimulation, than by the utter want of principle and of justice with which it is accompanied.

On the 17th of April, on the motion in the House of Commons, for the third reading of the bills for granting an annuity to the Princesses, Mr. Whitbread again alluded to the Princess of Wales, expressing his astonishment, that all mention of her Royal Highness had been omitted. As

it had been announced, that the Queen was to hold a drawing-room, the public naturally inquired, he said, why the Princess of Wales had no appointment, and why she was not to preside on such occasions. She ought to be enabled, under present circumstances, to hold a drawing-room. He spoke again of the Book, and of its being bought up at a great expence. To the observations of Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Perceval maintained a complete silence.

On the 30th of the same month, for the first time, for nearly two years past, her Majesty held a drawing-room, which was numerously attended. The Regent went in state. The Princess of Wales was also there; but it was so arranged, as her Royal Highness was determined to attend, that she should go before the Prince Regent, and retire before his appearance; of course their Royal Highnesses did not meet.

The 11th of May, 1812, will be ever marked in the annals of this country, by the extraordinary assassination of Mr. Perceval, in the lobby of the House of Commons, by a desperate and decayed merchant, of the name of Bellingham. The circumstance is only mentioned here, in order to shew, that the suppression of the book arose from Mr. Perceval himself, and that a few months after his death, it was published, to the great gratification, but not, perhaps, to the great satisfaction of the British Public. Of his character, one who is by no means disposed to eulogize him, says, "That he was a well-disposed man, an excellent

relation, and a weak minister." But his conduct towards the Princess of Wales, and his manifest disregard of her Royal Highness, when prospects opened to him of his being taken into favour by the Regent, must be denounced as highly derogatory to his character, neither shewing him well-disposed, nor weak, but as making a threatened publication of the history of his Royal mistress's wrongs, a mere stepping stone to his advancement, and totally regardless of that justice, which her situation imperiously demanded at his hands.

During the summer of 1812, the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter, was subjected to considerable restriction, so as almost to preclude any interchange of those affectionate attentions, which should ever occur between a mother and her daughter. The Princess Charlotte resided at this time chiefly at Windsor, and was under the especial care and protection of the Queen; her removal thither, on the plea of ill health, was understood chiefly to be, in order to prevent, as much as possible, her intimacy with her mother. On one occasion, the Princess of Wales wrote a letter to her Majesty, requesting permission to see her daughter, and offered either to visit her at Windsor, or that the Princess might be allowed to attend on her. An answer was returned from the Queen, that her Royal Highness's studies were not to be interrupted.

On another occasion, Sunday, 27th of September, of the same year, the Princess of Wales travelled to Windsor, expressly to visit her daughter, and as it was Sunday, there could be no fear of interrupting her studies. She was however, refused that gratification. She then requested, and obtained an interview with the Queen, but the audience did not prove satisfactory. The Queen said to her Royal Highness, on her leaving Windsor, "I hope "you will always preserve the same friendship, "which you have ever felt for me." The Princess replied, in a tone of irony, "Oh certainly, "your Majesty." At this interview, the Queen offered her Royal Highness no refreshment whatever; and it was stated by the Queen, that the Regent had given orders not to allow any meeting at Windsor between the Princess and her daughter. It should be observed, that the Queen was always *apparently* civil to the Princess of Wales, but her Royal Highness, knew too well, that she was one of her most inveterate enemies.

The restrictions placed on the intercourse of the Princess of Wales and her daughter, must not, however, be understood to have been such, as to have prevented their occasionally seeing each other. But although the Princess was allowed to dine with her daughter once a week, in the presence of her Governess and other ladies, at Kensington, or Warwick House; she was not suffered to see her in private, to pass any time with her, or to enjoy that happy connexion with her child, which

every mother should feel, is anxious to cherish, and which contributes so much to mutual happiness and confidence.

These restrictions were, however, so grievous to the Princess of Wales, as well as to her daughter, that her Royal Highness expressed her determination, upon legal advice, to bring her situation before Parliament.

On the 14th January, 1813, the Princess of Wales transmitted a sealed letter to the Prince Regent, by Lady Charlotte Campbell, to the care of the Earl of Liverpool and Lord Eldon, transmitting at the same time, an open copy for the perusal of those noble Lords. To that letter attention is invited.

Sir,

“ It is with great reluctance, that I presume to  
 “ intrude myself upon your Royal Highness, and  
 “ to solicit your attention to matters, which may  
 “ at first appear rather as a personal, than a  
 “ public nature.

“ If I could think them so—if they related  
 “ merely to myself, I should abstain from a pro-  
 “ ceeding which might give uneasiness, or inter-  
 “ rupt the more weighty occupations of your  
 “ Royal Highness’s time; I should continue, in  
 “ silence and retirement, to lead the life which  
 “ has been prescribed to me, and console myself  
 “ for the loss of that society, and those domestic  
 “ comforts, to which I have so long been a stran-  
 “ ger, by the reflection that it has been deemed

“ proper I should be afflicted, without any fault  
 “ of my own—and that your Royal Highness  
 “ knows it.

“ But, Sir, there are considerations of a higher  
 “ nature, than any regard to my own happi-  
 “ ness, which renders this address a duty both to  
 “ myself and my daughter. May I venture to  
 “ say—a duty also to my husband, and the peo-  
 “ ple committed to his care? There is a point,  
 “ beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with  
 “ safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is  
 “ invaded, the defence of her reputation is no  
 “ longer a matter of choice, and it signifies not  
 “ whether the attack be made openly, manfully,  
 “ and directly, or by secret insinuation, and by  
 “ holding such conduct towards her, as counte-  
 “ nances all the suspicions that malice can suggest.  
 “ If these ought to be the feelings of every woman  
 “ in England, who is conscious that she deserves  
 “ no reproach, your Royal Highness has too  
 “ sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of  
 “ honour, not to perceive how much more justly  
 “ they belong to the mother of your daughter,  
 “ the mother of her who is destined, I trust at a  
 “ very distant period, to reign over the British  
 “ Empire.

“ It may be known to your Royal Highness,  
 “ that during the continuance of the restrictions  
 “ upon your Royal Authority, I purposely re-  
 “ frained from making any representations which  
 “ might then augment the painful difficulties of

“ your exalted station. At the expiration of the  
 “ restrictions, I still was inclined to delay taking  
 “ this step, in the hope that I might owe the  
 “ redress I sought, to your gracious and unsolli-  
 “ cited condescension. I have waited in the fond  
 “ indulgence of this expectation, until, to my  
 “ inexpressible mortification, I find that my un-  
 “ willingness to complain, has only produced  
 “ fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length  
 “ compelled, either to abandon all regard for the  
 “ two dearest objects which I have on earth,—  
 “ mine own honour, and my beloved child, or to  
 “ throw myself at the feet of your Royal Highness,  
 “ the natural protector of both.

“ I presume, Sir, to represent to your Royal  
 “ Highness, that the separation which every suc-  
 “ ceeding month is making wider, of the mother  
 “ and the daughter, is equally injurious to my  
 “ character, and to her education. I say nothing  
 “ of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrange-  
 “ ment inflicts upon my feelings, although I would  
 “ fain hope, that few persons will be found of a  
 “ disposition to think lightly of these things.  
 “ To see myself cut off from one of the very few  
 “ domestic enjoyments left me, certainly the only  
 “ upon which I set any value,—the society of  
 “ my child, involves me in such misery as I well  
 “ know your Royal Highness could never inflect  
 “ upon me, if you were aware of its bitterness.  
 “ Our intercourse has been gradually diminished;  
 “ a single interview weekly, seemed sufficiently

“ hard allowance for a mother’s affection. That,  
 “ however, was reduced to our meeting once a  
 “ fortnight, and I now learn, that even this most  
 “ rigorous interdiction, is to be still more rigidly  
 “ enforced.

“ But, while I do not venture to intrude my  
 “ feelings as a mother; upon your Royal High-  
 “ ness’s notice, I must be allowed to say, that in  
 “ the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this  
 “ separation of a daughter from her mother, will  
 “ only admit of one construction, a construction  
 “ fatal to the mother’s reputation. Your Royal  
 “ Highness will also pardon me for adding, that  
 “ there is no less inconsistency than injustice, in  
 “ this treatment. He who dares advise your  
 “ Royal Highness to overlook the evidence of my  
 “ innocence, and disregard the sentence of com-  
 “ plete acquittal which is produced—or is wicked  
 “ and false enough still to whisper suspicions in  
 “ your ear, betrays his duty to you, Sir, to your  
 “ daughter, and to your people, if he counsels you  
 “ to permit a day to pass without a further in-  
 “ vestigation of my conduct. I know that no  
 “ such calumniator will venture to recommend a  
 “ measure which must speedily end in his utter  
 “ confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect  
 “ on the situation in which I am placed, without  
 “ the shadow of a charge against me—without  
 “ even an accuser—after an inquiry that led to  
 “ my ample vindication; yet treated as if I were  
 “ still more culpable than the perjuries of my

“ *suborned traducers* represented me, and held me  
 “ up to the world, as a mother who may not  
 “ enjoy the society of her only child.

“ The feelings, Sir, which are natural to my  
 “ unexampled situation, might justify me in the  
 “ gracious judgment of your Royal Highness, had  
 “ I no other motives for addressing you, but such  
 “ as relate to myself. But I will not disguise  
 “ from your Royal Highness, what I cannot for a  
 “ moment conceal from myself, that the serious,  
 “ and it soon may be the irreparable injury,  
 “ which my daughter sustains, from the plan at  
 “ present pursued, has done more in overcoming  
 “ my reluctance to intrude upon your Royal  
 “ Highness, than any suffering of my own could  
 “ accomplish; and if for her sake, I presume, to  
 “ call away your Royal Highness’s attention from  
 “ the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confi-  
 “ dent, I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior  
 “ importance, either to yourself, or to your people.

“ The powers with which the Constitution of  
 “ these realms vests your Royal Highness, in the  
 “ regulation of the Royal Family, I know, because  
 “ I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable.  
 “ My appeal, Sir, is made to your excellent sense  
 “ and liberality of mind, in the exercise of those  
 “ powers; and I willingly hope that your own  
 “ paternal feelings will lead you to excuse the  
 “ anxiety of mine, for impelling me to represent  
 “ the unhappy consequences which the present  
 “ system must entail upon our beloved child.

“ Is it possible, Sir, that any one could have  
 “ attempted to persuade your Royal Highness,  
 “ that her character will not be injured by the  
 “ perpetual violence offered to her strongest affec-  
 “ tions. The studied care taken to estrange her  
 “ from my society, and even to interrupt all com-  
 “ munication between us ? That her love for me,  
 “ with whom, by his Majesty’s wise and gracious  
 “ arrangements, she passed the years of her in-  
 “ fancy and childhood, never can be extinguished,  
 “ I well know ; and the knowledge of it forms the  
 “ greatest blessing of my existence. But let me  
 “ implore your Royal Highness to reflect how  
 “ inevitably all the attempts to abate this attach-  
 “ ment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed,  
 “ must injure my child’s principles ; if they fail,  
 “ must destroy her happiness.

“ The plan of excluding my daughter from all  
 “ intercourse with the world, appears to my  
 “ humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She  
 “ who is destined to be the sovereign of this great  
 “ country, enjoys none of those advantages of  
 “ society, which are deemed necessary for im-  
 “ parting a knowledge of mankind to persons  
 “ who have infinitely less occasion to learn that  
 “ important lesson : and it may so happen by a  
 “ chance, which I trust is very remote, that she  
 “ should be called upon to exercise the powers of  
 “ a crown with an experience of the world more  
 “ confined than that of the most private indivi-  
 “ dual. To the extraordinary talents with which

“ she is blessed, and which accompany a disposi-  
 “ tion as singularly amiable, frank, and decided,  
 “ I willingly trust much, but beyond a certain  
 “ point the greatest natural endowments cannot  
 “ struggle against the great disadvantages of cir-  
 “ cumstances and situation. It is my earnest  
 “ prayer for her own sake as well as for her coun-  
 “ try’s, that your Royal Highness may be induced  
 “ to pause before this point be reached.

“ Those who have advised you, Sir, to delay so  
 “ long the period of my daughter’s commencing  
 “ her intercourse with the world, and for that  
 “ purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear  
 “ not to have regarded the interruptions to her  
 “ education which this arrangement occasions:  
 “ both by the impossibility of obtaining the at-  
 “ tendance of proper teachers, and the time un-  
 “ avoidably consumed in the frequent journeys to  
 “ town, which she must make, unless she is to be  
 “ secluded from all intercourse even with your  
 “ Royal Highness, and the rest of the Royal  
 “ Family.

“ To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a  
 “ circumstance in every way so distressing both  
 “ to my parental and religious feelings, that my  
 “ daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of  
 “ confirmation. Although above a year older  
 “ than the age at which all the other branches of  
 “ the Royal Family have partaken of that so-  
 “ lemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, Sir, to  
 “ hear my entreaties upon this serious matter,  
 “ even if you should listen to other advisers, on

“ things of less near concernment to the welfare  
 “ of our child.

“ The pain with which I have at length formed  
 “ the resolution of addressing myself to your  
 “ Royal Highness, is such as I should in vain  
 “ attempt to express. If I could adequately  
 “ describe it, you might be enabled, Sir, to estimate the strength of the motives, which have  
 “ made me to submit to it. They are the most  
 “ powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest  
 “ impressions of duty towards your Royal Highness, my beloved child, and the country, which I  
 “ devoutly hope she may be preserved to govern,  
 “ and to shew by a new example, the liberal  
 “ affection of a free and generous people to a  
 “ virtuous and constitutional monarch.

“ I am, Sir, with profound respect, and an  
 “ attachment which nothing can alter,

“ Your Royal Highness's

“ Most devoted and affectionate

“ Consort, Cousin, and Subject,

(Signed) “ CAROLINE LOUISA.”

*Montague House,  
 January 14, 1813.*

On the next day the letter was returned, by the Earl of Liverpool, unopened. On the 16th it was returned by Lady Charlotte Campbell, intimating, that as it contained matter of importance to the state, she relied on their laying it before his Royal Highness. It was again returned unopened to Lady Charlotte Campbell, accompanied by a note from Lord Liverpool, saying, that the Prince saw

no reason to depart from his determination. On the 17th, it was returned in the same way, by command of her Royal Highness, expressing her confidence that the two noble Lords would not take upon themselves the responsibility of not communicating the letter to his Royal Highness, and that she should be the only subject in the empire whose Petition was not to be permitted to reach the throne. To this an answer was given, that the *contents* of the letter had been made known to the Prince.

On the 19th, her Royal Highness directed a letter to be addressed to the two noble Lords, desiring to know whether it had been made known to his Royal Highness by being read to him, and to know his pleasure thereon. No answer was given to this letter, and therefore, on the 26th, she directed a letter to be written, expressing her surprize that no answer had been given to her application, for a whole week. To this an answer was received, addressed to the Princess, stating, that in consequence of her Royal Highness's demand, her letter had been read to the Prince Regent on the 20th, but that he had not been pleased to express his pleasure thereon. Here the correspondence closed.

The Princess Charlotte having arrived at the age when her formal presentation at Court was determined upon; her Majesty's birth-day, which was celebrated the 18th January, was the day appointed for this purpose. It was arranged by the Regent, that the presentation should be made

either by the Duchess of York, or one of the female branches of the Royal Family. But the Princess Charlotte, with that affectionate attachment which she always evinced for her mother, had privately agreed with her Royal Highness that she should be presented by her, and by her only. The Princess and her daughter were both in readiness at the Drawing-room for such presentation; and when the Princess Charlotte was informed that the presentation by her mother would not be permitted, "Either my mother, or no one," was her spirited reply. No entreaties could prevail upon the Princess to alter her determination; consequently the presentation did not take place. The Regent was present to witness the presentation of his daughter, and on passing the Princess of Wales, a slight acknowledgement only passed between them.

On the 10th of February the letter of the Princess of Wales to the Regent was published by her in the Morning Chronicle, and was soon after copied into most of the newspapers of the day. This publication, produced a strong sensation at Carlton House. In answer to a note of her Royal Highness to Lord Liverpool, dated the 8th of February, desiring that he would communicate to the Regent her intention of visiting the Princess Charlotte at Warwick House, his Lordship appointed Thursday the 11th of February at Kensington Palace for their meeting; but on that morning the Princess of Wales received information that the Princess Charlotte

was refused coming. The Princess of Wales, upon application to Lord Liverpool for the reason of such refusal, was told in a note from his Lordship, dated Fife House, February 14, 1813, that in consequence of the publication in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 10th instant, of a letter addressed to the Prince Regent by her Royal Highness, the Prince had thought fit by the advice of his confidential servants, to signify his commands, that the intended visit of the Princess Charlotte to her Royal Highness on the following day, should not take place.

The Princess replied the next day to Lord Liverpool, stating, that the insidious insinuations respecting the publication of her letter to the Regent, dated the 14th of January, were as void of foundation, and as false as all the former accusations of the traducers of her honour in 1806; and requiring them to lay her communications before the Prince, but which request was not complied with.

At the commencement of the year 1813, Lady de Clifford resigned, or perhaps, with more truth, was compelled to resign the situation of governess, to the Princess Charlotte of Wales, and the Duchess of Leeds was appointed in her Ladyship's place. The appointment was made for two years. Soon after this, the restrictions on the intercourse between the Princess of Wales became so rigid, as nearly to prevent the intercourse of parent and child. The appointment of the Duchess of Leeds, however, as a governess to her Royal Highness,

who was now considered of age, and just about to commence her appearance in public life, did not occur without considerable animadversion; and the non-concurrence of the Princess Charlotte, rendered that measure additionally obnoxious.

The public sympathy was now also strongly manifested, and the hardship and injustice under which the Princess of Wales suffered, were loudly proclaimed. And on the 24th of February, the Hon. Cochrane Johnstone gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion, for the following Monday, relative to the proceedings ordered by his Majesty to be instituted on the subject of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

The Princess herself, understanding that meetings of the Privy Council were now taking place, the object of which was again to investigate the charges against her Royal Highness, deemed it necessary to take some decisive step for the protection of her honour and character. She addressed, therefore, on the 27th of February, a letter to Lord Harrowby, stating that she had received reports from various quarters, of certain proceedings lately held by the Privy Council respecting her; and that she felt persuaded they must be unfounded, because she could not believe it possible that any resolution should be taken by that most honorable body, upon statements which she had no opportunity of answering, explaining, or even seeing.

The Princess trusted there was no truth in the rumours; but she, at the same time, *protested*

against any resolution affecting her, which might be so adopted. After observing that the noble and right honourable persons said to be selected for the proceedings, were too just to decide any thing touching her Royal Highness, without affording her an opportunity of laying her case before them, she declared herself perfectly willing to have her whole conduct inquired into by the persons who might be selected by her accusers; she only demanded to be heard in defence, or in explanation of her conduct, if it was attacked; and, that she should be either treated as innocent, or proved to be guilty.

Lord Harrowby, in his reply, informed the Princess, that a copy of the Report laid before the Prince Regent, had been transmitted the same evening, to her Royal Highness by Lord Sidmouth. The Report was in substance as follows:

It began by stating, that the following members of the Privy Council, viz. the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Primate of Ireland, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Buckingham, the Earl Bathurst, the Earl of Liverpool, the Earl of Mulgrave, Viscount Melville, Viscount Sidmouth, Viscount Castlereagh, the Bishop of London, Lord Ellenborough, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chancellor of the Duchy, the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Justice of the

Common Pleas,\* the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Judge of the Admiralty, and the Dean of the Arches, had been summoned, by command of his Royal Highness, on the 19th of February, to meet at the office of Viscount Sidmouth, Secretary of State for the home department.

At this meeting, Lord Sidmouth stated, that he was commanded by his Royal Highness to inform them, that a copy of a letter from the Princess of Wales, having appeared in a public paper, referring to proceedings which took place in an Inquiry, commanded by his Majesty, in 1806; and containing arimadversions upon the manner in which the Prince Regent had exercised his undoubted right of regulating the conduct and education of the Princess Charlotte; his Royal Highness had directed, that the said letter, and the documents relative to the proceedings in 1806, together with copies of other letters and papers, of which a schedule was annexed, should be referred to their Lordships, above-named, being members of his Majesty's Privy Council, for their consideration; and that they should report their opinion to his Royal Highness, whether under all the circumstances of the case, it was fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte should continue to be subject to regulations and restraint.

\* The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas was prevented, by indisposition, from attending during any part of these proceedings.

Their Lordships, after a full examination of all the documents referred to them, reported, that under all the circumstances of the case, it was fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.

That they entertained a just sense of the motives by which his Royal Highness had been actuated, in the postponement of the confirmation of the Princess Charlotte; it appearing conformable to the declared will of his Majesty, who had directed that such ceremony should not take place till her Royal Highness had completed her eighteenth year.

Their Lordships added, that the expression in the Princess of Wales's letter "SUBORNED TRADUCERS," could not be passed over without observation. As this expression, from the manner in which it was introduced, might perhaps be liable to misconstruction (however impossible it might be to suppose that it could have been so intended) to have reference to some part of the conduct of his Royal Highness, they felt it their bounden duty not to omit the opportunity of declaring, that the documents laid before them afforded the most ample proof that there was not the slightest foundation for such an aspersion.

On the 2nd of March, the Speaker of the House of Commons informed the House, that he had the day before received a paper, which purported to be a letter from the Princess of Wales, but as it had

no date, and was delivered to one of the door-keepers, he forbore to take any steps on the receipt of it, until it was authenticated. That morning, he said, the letter was authenticated, he having received a duplicate of it, inclosed in a letter from her Royal Highness. Both were read to the House.

The first which was dated Montague House, 1st of March, which is alone necessary to be noticed here, informed the Speaker, that her Royal Highness had received from Lord Sidmouth a copy of the report, the substance of which is given in the preceding paragraphs. It was of such a nature, her Royal Highness said, that she was persuaded no person could read it without considering it to contain aspersions on her character, though its vagueness rendered it impossible to be precisely understood, or to know exactly with what she was charged. She felt conscious of her innocence, and considered it due to herself and the two illustrious Houses, with which she was connected by blood and marriage, and to the people of this country, not to acquiesce for a moment in the reflections which had been cast upon her honour. She had not been permitted to know on what evidence the Report was founded, nor had she been heard in her own defence. She threw herself upon the wisdom and justice of Parliament, and desired the fullest investigation of her conduct during her residence in this country. She feared no scrutiny, provided she was tried by impartial Judges, in a fair and

open manner, consistent with the laws of the land. She desired to be treated as innocent or to be proved guilty.

After a considerable pause in the House, Mr. Whitbread said, that the letter just read could not fail most deeply to impress every one who heard it; in short, it was of such a nature that the subject of it could not now be suffered to pass in silence. He had waited for some time after the letter was read, in the expectation of hearing some proposition come from the noble Lord opposite; as, however, he had said nothing, he rose for the purpose of asking him, whether he intended to call the attention of the House to the subject by any specific motion.

Lord Castlereagh admitted the importance of the subject, but said, that as the motion of which an honourable member had given notice, stood only for the day after to-morrow, he did not see any necessity for taking it up at present; observing, however, that the document just read, was likely to impose upon him the duty of making a variety of explanations to the House when the motion in question came forward.

On the 4th of March, on the Speaker's calling on Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, Mr. Lygon moved the standing order of the House, that strangers should withdraw. This produced a debate, which ended in Mr. Cochrane Johnstone not making his promised motion. After some spirited observations of Mr. Whitbread, and after observing that the Princess of Wales had no Privy Council to

advise her, and to frame Reports in her vindication, he having previously read the Report of the Privy Council to the House; and after stating his opinion, that the standing orders were essential to the independence of the House of Commons, Mr. C. Johnstone was urged to go on; he declined, but gave notice for the next day.

On the 5th, the gallery of the House of Commons was again cleared; but the substance of what passed soon after transpired. Mr. C. Johnstone moved two resolutions, recapitulating the transactions of the Delicate Investigation, denying the legality of the Commission of Inquiry, but impressing the necessity of instituting immediately, while all the witnesses were living, an ample and impartial investigation of the allegations, facts and circumstances, appertaining to this most important inquiry. And that a humble address should be presented to the Prince Regent, requesting a copy of the Report made to his Majesty, the 14th of July, 1806, by the Lord Chancellor Erskine, and other Lords named, touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and all copies of other papers annexed to the said Report, being the narrative of the Duke of Kent, and thirty-eight other documents which the honourable mover named.

The motion was seconded by Mr. John Wharton.

Lord Castlereagh justified the minute of-council by which the innocence of her Royal Highness was declared and avowed, that no charge of criminality had been exhibited against that high indi-

vidual, and he also attempted to explain why proceedings had not been instituted against Sir John and Lady Douglas, for perjury ; but the motion had his decided negative. The Prince Regent, he said, in the direction of his family, had exercised that right which was inherent in every husband and father in the country. He had the only right to dictate what was proper for the education of his daughter, and it would be indelicate in the House to interfere.

Sir Samuel Romilly took occasion to explain the method in which the depositions before the Commission of 1806 were taken. See the explanation, page 178.

Mr. Whitbread insisted that the minute of council by which her Royal Highness was acquitted, and the late Report transmitted to her by Lord Sidmouth were at variance with each other. He condemned the conduct of those who restricted the intercourse of her Royal Highness and her daughter, and moved, that the above-mentioned Report should be laid before the House ; which was seconded by Mr. Brand.

Lord Castlereagh said, that the restrictions might not be necessary on account of any criminality on the part of the Princess of Wales, but on account of the liability of the Princess Charlotte to meet company with whom it was not thought fit she should associate.

Mr. Wortley said, he had as high feelings for Royalty as any man, but proceedings like these contributed to pull it down. He was very sorry

we had a Royal Family who did not take warning from what was said and thought concerning them. They seemed to be the only persons in the country who were wholly regardless of their welfare and respectability. He would not have the Regent lay the flattering unction to his soul, and think his conduct would bear him harmless, through all these transactions. He said this with no disrespect to him or his family: no man was more attached to the House of Brunswick than he was; but if he had a sister in the same situation, he would say she was exceedingly ill used.

Mr. W. Smith fully participated in what fell from Mr. Wortley: if his sister had been treated as the Princess had been, he should feel extremely sore.

Mr. Whitbread's amendment was withdrawn; and while the Attorney and Solicitor-general acquitted the Princess of any stain of criminality, yet they justified the conduct which had been pursued on this occasion.

Mr. Canning, also, advocated the innocence of her Royal Highness, whom he considered as justly absolved from every imputation by the minute of Council, so often referred to. But he thought the Prince Regent was the right and sole judge of what conduct ought to be observed in the education of his daughter.

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A similar letter, to that addressed to the speaker of the House of Commons, by her Royal Highness was also sent by the Princess to the Lord Chancellor, in order to be laid before the House of Lords, but his Lordship returned it to her Royal Highness, thinking it, as he told her, his duty to advise her, from considerations of propriety, as well as safety, not to make it public. He farther added, that by command of the Prince Regent, the visits of her Royal Highness to Warwick House, were in future to be discontinued.

Her Royal Highness, in replying to the Chancellor, expressed her surprize at the manner and matter of his Lordship's communications, and particularly at his care for her safety; but intimated, at the same time, that his Lordship need be under no apprehension in that respect, as the Constitution and Laws of England were her safeguard.

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degrade; but the object could not be obtained; while any sense of public virtue, and any feeling of honest indignation, prevailed. The proprietor\* of one of these papers had been lately distinguished by titles and honours, and was at all times well received at Carlton House. What could have produced these articles; and what, but the interference of some person well acquainted with the Government of the country?

In the course of his speech, Mr. Whitbread said, that Sir John Douglas had come to him, as he had also to the Noble Lord, and complained, in vindication of Lady Douglas and himself, that they had been treated with great severity and hardship: for he maintained, that Lady Douglas was considered as entitled to credit, while the charge of perjury had not been preferred against her by the Noble Lord. Sir John also told him, it was his intention to petition the House.

Lord Castlereagh replied to the observations of Mr. Whitbread, that he had not made any assertion of the guilt or innocence of the Princess of Wales.

Lord Milton censured the publication of the papers, relative to the Princess of Wales. He advised persons in high situations, to be aware how they trifled with the feelings of the public. Let them reflect seriously upon what they were doing. Let them take care not to be suspected; since it was known through what publications it

\* Sir R. B. Dudley.

was that such matters of information were ushered to the world. It must be suspected, he said, that such things were not brought under the public eye, through such channels, contrary to the wishes and will of persons in high places. He charged upon the publishers, the advisers of the publication, and the consenters thereto, the offence of instilling into the public mind, poison of the rankest description. Could they be called documents fit for the public at large? Were they fit to be laid before our wives and daughters?

On the 17th, Mr. Whitbread presented a petition to the House, from Sir John and Lady Douglas, in which they offered to answer to their depositions. After the petition had been read, Mr. Whitbread again called upon Lord Castlereagh to answer, whether those persons, whom his Lordship had, on a former night, stigmatized as degraded and perjured, had not been again examined? Sir John Douglas, Mr. W. said, had told him, that from Feb. 13, down to the late debate, in which the Noble Lord had so stigmatized him, Lady Douglas had been examined as a credible witness, by Mr. Litchfield, the Treasury Solicitor, in the presence of Mr. Conant. When Sir John Douglas waited on his Lordship, the Noble Lord denied all knowledge of such proceedings; and Sir John Douglas then said, if your Lordship knows it not, the Lord Chancellor does. Gracious heaven! exclaimed Mr. Whitbread, and is it come to this? Does the Lord Chancellor lend himself to these sinister and obscure proceedings?

Are persons, united in office, in times of peril, separately carrying on secret investigations? Is this the mode in which state affairs are conducted?

Mr. Whitbread said, that he had advised a conciliatory approach, by her Royal Highness to the Prince; that a noble friend of her Royal Highness had asked his advice, and that he on that occasion sketched out a letter of dignified submission from her to the Prince. The Princess took a copy of it in her own hand-writing, with the intention of sending it to the Prince; but this healing and desirable step was prevented by the Princess's receiving information, that Sir John and Lady Douglas were again under examination, and that too, with the sanction of the Chancellor. Emissaries, he said, had been dispatched to pry into every petty circumstance of private life, in every dirty corner—to inquire of every human being, who would swear to circumstances he neither saw nor knew. The noble Lord knew nothing of all this; it was the Lord Chancellor who undertook to provide a case! Towards the conclusion of a long and energetic speech, of which only a rough outline is here given, the Princess of Wales, or rather (Mr. Whitbread) said, he, in her name, called on that House, the representation of the people of England, to become the protectors of an innocent, traduced, and defenceless stranger—the mother of their future Queen. He wished most sincerely that the book now lying on the table of the House, had never been printed; he wished that

the letter to his Majesty, in the year 1807, threatening that the book should be published, had never been written. It was never too late to conciliate, and if even now, matters could be brought to that crisis, he was certain the nation would esteem it the greatest boon that could be conferred on the country.

He then put in two papers of the Morning Herald, the parts alluded to being entered as read, and then moved an address to the Regent, expressive of the deep concern which the House felt at publications of so gross and scandalous a nature, and praying that he would be pleased to order proper measures to be taken, for bringing to justice all the persons concerned in so scandalous a business, and particularly for preventing the continuance or repetition of so high an offence.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Whitbread alluded to the deposition of Mrs. Lisle, and said that a gentlemen of integrity and honour, had that morning put into his hands a correct copy of the full evidence of Mrs. Lisle. Mr. W. did not himself vouch for its authenticity, but he read some parts of it to shew how much it differed from the deposition given to the public.

Lord Castlereagh accused Mr. Whitbread, under the pretence of vindicating the Princess of Wales, of indulging in unfair, illiberal, and he thought, unparliamentary observations, on the conduct of the Prince of Wales himself. He also again said, that he had never pronounced a verdict of acquittal on her Royal Highness; as a Privy Counsellor,

he had only said, there was no proof of criminality on the part of the Princess.

Mr. Tierney said, that there were strange rumours abroad; he suspected that the Prince Regent had bad advisers. With these floating rumours and contradictory opinions, with all these whisperings and conspiracies, and secret examinations, the character of the whole of the Royal Family was falling into contempt, and nobody could tell where it would end. He thought, that the printers of the papers ought to be called to the bar of the House, to answer by whose authority they published the depositions, and from whom they received them.

Mr. Canning said, that he had always disapproved of the publication of the book; when he first received a copy from Mr. Perceval, he sent him the following note: "I have received your book—I am sorry it has appeared; it will certainly come out some time or another; and that you may know that it is not from my copy, I return the one you have sent me." He hoped that a speedy and satisfactory termination would be put to the discussion on this subject.

Sir Samuel Romilly said, that he had been present at all the examinations of the Commission of Inquiry, in 1806, except one; that was the last, and Mrs. Lisle's. It was impossible, however, he said, that the statement put into the hands of Mr. Ward could be correct, unless quite a different course was then adopted, than on any other day.

No parliamentary object was gained by these debates, as the motion made by Mr. Whitbread was withdrawn, and an amendment by Mr. Tierney negatived; but they served to throw considerable light on the obscurity of the conduct and motives of the accusers of the Princess of Wales.

A few days afterwards (March 22nd), Lord Ellenborough, one of the Commissioners on the secret Inquiry of 1806, noticed with much warmth, in the House of Lords, the allusion to Mrs. Lisle's evidence, made by Mr. Whitbread, on the 17th, in the House of Commons. His Lordship asserted, that it was a lie—a vile slander—*all as false as hell*; and subsequently called it a base and impudent, and miscreant imputation. He defended himself, and the other noble Lords joined with him in the Commission, who he said, had no object but the truth. The other Commissioners, the Lords Erskine, Grenville, and Spencer, took the same grounds of defence as Lord Ellenborough, but with more dignity and moderation.

It subsequently came out, in a correspondence between Mr. Whitbread and Mrs. Lisle, that on Mrs. Lisle's return from her examination by the Commissioners, she to the best of her recollection, committed to paper the questions which had been put to her, and her answers, and transmitted a copy to the Princess of Wales, having previously received the Princess's commands so to do. It never was, she said, her intention to set up her

recollection against her deposition. But she said, the paper which Mr. Whitbread possessed, was a correct copy of that which she had written.

The Princess of Wales had the misfortune to be bereaved of her mother, the Duchess of Brunswick, on the 23rd of March. Her Serene Highness had been subject to an asthmatic complaint for some years, which was encreased by the epidemic disorder then prevalent, and with which she was attacked about two days before, but no alarm was excited, till the morning of the day she died; a spasm came on about eight o'clock in the evening, and she died at nine, without any apparent pain. The Princess visited her mother on that day, and was with her a considerable time.

In consequence of the death of the Duchess of Brunswick, the Princess Charlotte was permitted to visit her mother, at Montague House, on the subsequent Friday. This visit was, it is said, prompted by the Prince Regent himself.

Considerable animadversion was about this time excited, in consequence of a letter published by the Earl of Moira, addressed to the "*Head Free Mason*." This letter, which contained various observations of his Lordship, relative to the Princess of Wales's visits to Belvidere, that appeared injurious to her Royal Highness's character, was noticed in the House of Commons, by Mr. Whitbread, who moved that a message should be sent to the Lords, requesting permission for the attendance of the Earl of Moira, in the House

of Commons, for the purpose of explaining the imputations which his Lordship had thrown out. The motion was more particularly pressed, as Lord Moira was about to depart for India. It was not carried. His Lordship, however, did subsequently explain, in a letter to Mr. Whitbread, dated April the 2nd, and of which explanation, Mr. W. in answer to his Lordship, admits his perfect satisfaction; concluding, that with the addition of those explanations from his Lordship, so honourable to the Princess of Wales, the public will be satisfied, that justice has been completely obtained.

By these discussions in Parliament, and the publication of the accusation and defence of the Princess of Wales, the public mind had become highly excited; and addresses of congratulation were presented to her Royal Highness, from numerous public bodies.

The City of London took the lead on this occasion. On the 2nd of April, a Common Hall was held, to consider the propriety of addressing her Royal Highness, on the late infamous attempt upon her honour and life. The address was carried almost unanimously; even those who opposed it, most readily admitted her innocence. Among those was Sir William Curtis, who said, that *she had been grossly, infamously, and abominably treated—her innocence was undoubted—her persecution had been shameful.*

An address from the Common Council to her Royal Highness, was also voted a few days after-

wards; and on the Report of the answer of her Royal Highness to the address, Sir William Curtis said, he had no objection to repeat, that he conceived *the Princess had been traduced most wickedly and most abominably.*

Besides these addresses to her Royal Highness, others were presented, from the Borough of Southwark, from the City of Westminster, the County of Middlesex, from Bristol, Rochester, Sheffield, Berwick-upon-Tweed, the Catholics convened at Dublin, four hundred Ladies in and near Boston, &c. &c.

An incident, demonstrating the temper of the people at this time, may here be mentioned. Soon after the petition of Sir John Douglas and his Lady was presented to the House of Commons, they disappeared from their residence at Blackheath. The effigy of a Lady, elegantly dressed in white, holding a parasol, with a large label in front, containing the words *Conspiracy and Perjury*—another on her back with the words *Diabolical Perjury*, was, a few days after, carried about Greenwich and Blackheath, &c. with thousands in attendance, whose shouts and huzzas were encouraged by the most respectable inhabitants. It was exhibited again, on a subsequent day in like manner, and it was proclaimed by the town crier with his bell, that the effigy of the Lady was to be burnt at eight o'clock in the evening, on Montague Hill, Blackheath; which burning accordingly took place, amidst the rejoicings of a concourse of people indescribably great. Bid-

good's house was, during this affair, strongly guarded by constables.

Notwithstanding the exertions of the Princess of Wales's friends, in Parliament, and the strong expressions of a great majority of the people in her favour, it does not appear that her situation in regard to the Court, and the terms upon which she had for a long time been with the Prince and the Queen, were in any degree ameliorated. The Duchess of York, however, was her occasional visitor at Montague House. The Princess also visited, once at least during this year, (June 23d) York House. On which occasion, as she was proceeding through Knightsbridge to York House, and just as her carriage arrived at Hyde Park Corner, the Princess Charlotte passed her in her carriage, and proceeded along Rotten-row, to take an airing. Neither of the carriages stopped. Soon after the Princess of Wales's arrival at York House, the Duchess of York sent a letter to the Princess Charlotte, to which she returned a written answer; but no communication passed directly between the Princess of Wales and her beloved daughter. Nor during the subsequent part of this year, was her Royal Highness at any Court, or Drawing-room.

On the 14th December the Princess Charlotte visited, for the first time during the season, the Princess of Wales; it was also her first visit to her Royal Mother's new house in *Connaught Place*, which was fitting up in a very novel and peculiar style. The Princess Charlotte dined

with her mother, and returned to Warwick House at seven o'clock in the evening.

On the birth-day of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, 7th January, 1814, when her Royal Highness completed her eighteenth year, a number of the nobility and persons of distinction called at Warwick House, and left their respectful inquiries and congratulations on the return of the day. Her Royal Highness, however, was not forgetful of her mother: for, attended by the Duchess of Leeds, she went to Connaught Place in the afternoon, to demonstrate her affection.

In the course of the month of May following, a notice was very generally given, that her Majesty would hold *two* drawing-rooms for the presentations of the Princess Charlotte, and the many young ladies of fashion who had not then come out. This notice of two drawing-rooms was interpreted to be given, in order to prevent the possibility of a rencontre between the Prince and Princess of Wales, at one of which only the Princess would be suffered to be present. These drawing-rooms were also said to be intended to make an impression worthy of the character of the British Nobility and Gentry, on the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the sister of the Emperor Alexander of Russia.

No sooner, however, had the Princess of Wales made her intention known that she should be present, than a letter was sent to her Royal Highness from the Queen, dated Windsor Castle, May 23, 1814, informing her that she had received

a communication from her son, the Prince Regent, in which he stated, that her Majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considered his own presence at her Court could not be dispensed with, and that he desired it to be understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination, not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.

To this letter her Royal Highness replied, by announcing her intention of yielding in the present instance to the will of his Royal Highness; but she complained nevertheless, of this most unexpected and severe mortification, of not being permitted to appear before her Majesty, to offer her congratulations upon the happy termination of those calamities, with which Europe had been so long afflicted, in the presence of the illustrious personages, who would in all probability be assembled at her Majesty's Court, with whom she (the Princess) was so closely connected by birth and marriage. Her Royal Highness at the same time, besought her Majesty to do her an act of justice, by acquainting those illustrious strangers with the motives of personal consideration, which alone induced her to abstain from the exercise of her right of appearing before her Majesty. Her Royal Highness in conclusion, informed her Majesty, that she should herself make public the cause of her absence from Court.

The Queen, in her reply to the Princess's letter, said, that she should have felt no hesitation in communicating to the illustrious strangers the causes which prevent the Princess of Wales's appearance at Court; but the publication, intimated by her Royal Highness, rendered a compliance with her wish unnecessary.

To this the Princess replied, that such communication to the illustrious strangers could not, it appeared to her, be less necessary on account of any publicity which it might be in the power of her Royal Highness to give, and, therefore, she entreated the good offices of her Majesty, on an occasion when she felt it so essential, that she should not be misunderstood.

On the same day, viz. the 26th May, the Princess transmitted a letter to the Prince Regent, in which she explained her reasons for determining not to appear at the drawing-room, and expostulated with the resolution which he had taken of never meeting her upon any occasion, either in public or private. She demanded of his Royal Highness what circumstances could justify the proceeding he had thought fit to adopt. She reminded the Prince, that after the open persecution and mysterious inquiries upon undefined charges, she had been restored by the King to the full enjoyment of her rank at his Court, upon her complete acquittal. Since his Majesty's illness she had demanded to be proved guilty, or treated as innocent. "I have been declared innocent," said she, "I will not submit to be treated as guilty."

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She then observed, that his Royal Highness might possibly refuse to read the letter; but the world, she said, must know that she had written it, and they would see her real motives for foregoing, in this instance, the rights of her rank. Occasions, however, might arise when she must appear in public, and his Royal Highness must be present. His Royal Highness forgot the approaching marriage of their daughter, and the possibility of their coronation. The time selected for her seclusion from Court, she said, made it peculiarly galling; many illustrious strangers had already arrived in England, amongst whom was the heir to the House of Orange, who had announced himself to her as her future son-in-law: and from their society she was unjustly excluded. Other strangers were expected, and her daughter was to appear, for the first time, in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of the empire. This season, she said, had been chosen by his Royal Highness for treating her with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and that she, of all his Majesty's subjects, was alone to be prevented from appearing in her place to partake of the general joy, and of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection, permitted to every mother but her.

This expostulation having been found useless, her Royal Highness determined to appeal to Parliament. She, therefore, wrote a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, inclosing copies of the correspondence with the Queen, and

the letter to the Regent. These papers were on the 3rd June, read to the House, and as Mr. Methuen was rising to propose a motion on the subject, Mr. Lygon moved the standing order of the House for the exclusion of strangers, which was immediately enforced. The substance, however, of what passed, very soon transpired.

Mr. Methuen prefaced his motion by an able and powerful speech. He moved, that an humble Address should be presented to the Prince Regent, praying that he would be graciously pleased to inform the House by whose advice his Royal Highness was induced to form the fixed and unalterable determination never to meet her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in private or public.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Bathurst, on the ground that the case was one of mere Court etiquette, and that the House could not interfere without mischief to all parties concerned.

Mr. Whitbread upon this, as upon all other occasions, when the interests of the Princess of Wales were involved, (to whom she was always much attached, and at whose death, the next year, she was greatly affected) espoused her cause with great zeal and energy.

“As to stirring the question,” said he, “I ask who has stirred it? Is it the person who vindicates her own innocence from unjust and foul aspersions?—Has she complained that her near relations have been prevented from visiting her; that it has been intimated to all, that to visit her was to

exclude them from the Court ? To all the injuries which she has patiently borne, she has submitted in silence. Where does the burden rest of agitating the question ? Upon those who have planned and advised this foul indignity. The right honourable gentleman talked of this as being an exclusion from a common assembly. Is it then nothing that her nephews, that her future son-in-law the Prince of Orange, who had announced himself to her—her near relation the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the immortal Blucher, the companion of her father in arms,—is it nothing that they should remark the absence of the Princess of Wales, and be told that it is for reasons undefined, and of which the Regent alone can be the judge ? Under the circumstances of her situation, such infliction is worse than loss of life ; it is loss of reputation ; injurious to her character ; fatal to her fame. No man now dare to say she was guilty. All the charges, said the right honourable gentleman, were irresistably upset. Now, as to an event which sooner or later must happen, he meant the demise of the crown, is the Princess of Wales to be crowned ? She must be crowned ! who doubts it ? One hears it whispered abroad that a coronation is not necessary. He believed it was. Will the right honourable gentleman say it is not ? He dare not say so ; crowned she must be, *unless there be some dark base plot at work, some black act yet to do, unless the Parliament consent hereafter to be made a party to some nefarious transaction.*

Mr. Tierney said, that he trusted, before the next drawing-room, some sound advisers would find their way to his Royal Highness, and induce him to withdraw the prohibition; if not, he should think it a disgrace to the House of Commons, to separate without doing something. Some steps, he said, must soon be taken to conciliate, and not to make the existence of these two persons an eyesore to the public.

The motion of Mr. Methuen was, however, withdrawn, with an understanding that he should bring it forward again in a more eligible shape, if the necessity of the case should unhappily compel the interference of Parliament.

The hypothetical prophecy of Mr. Whitbread has, it is to be lamented, been since fulfilled to the very letter.

It may be also observed here, that on the 2nd of June, the day previous to the debate just referred to in the House of Commons, the Queen held a drawing-room at Buckingham House, at which were present besides the Queen, the Regent and a great number of the English nobility and gentry, the Princess Charlotte, being her first appearance at the drawing-room, the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the Prince of Oldenburgh, and other distinguished foreigners. At the close of the drawing-room, the Prince of Orange handed her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte to her carriage.

The Princess of Wales was, however, particularly averse to the marriage of her daughter with the Prince of Orange because she thought the

Princess Charlotte would be obliged to reside abroad; and her daughter's dislike strengthened her objection to their union.

The dislike arose chiefly, it is believed, in consequence of the Prince of Orange having, in conversation with the Princess Charlotte, intimated to her that when she became Princess of Orange, though she would be allowed to visit her Royal mother, her mother should never enter the House of Orange. "Then," said the Princess Charlotte, rising indignantly from her chair, "never will the Princess Charlotte of Wales be the wife of the Prince of Orange;" and the proposed union was consequently broken off.

A circumstance, which occurred whilst the Princess Charlotte was under the care of the Duchess of Leeds, also here deserves to be noticed. One Sunday, when the Princess Charlotte dined with her mother, and the Duchess of Leeds was present, they conversed the whole time in *German*, which no one else at table understood. Both mother and daughter frequently wept. The Duchess of Leeds was so enraged at this interchange of affection, that she made her own daughter privately learn that language, to prevent such confidence, in future, between them, or rather, to learn the subjects of their conversation.

As the Princess of Wales still continued to be treated with the same indignity, by being excluded from the Court, and as no notice had been taken of her, during the visits of the Emperor of

Russia, the King of Prussia, and other distinguished strangers, on the 23rd of June, the day after their departure, Mr. Methuen again called the attention of the House of Commons to this important subject. After expressing his surprize, that no steps had been taken to render unnecessary any further proceedings in that House, he then took a view of the finances of her Royal Highness, and stated, that in consequence of resolving to reduce her expenditure, by keeping fewer servants, and giving up company, she did not then owe a shilling. But was this a situation for a Princess of Wales. The Prince had declared, he would never meet her again, either in public or in private; it was, therefore, every way proper, that her Royal Highness should be enabled to support the dignity of her situation, as reconciliation seemed utterly hopeless. He concluded by moving, that the House, on Tuesday next, should proceed to take into consideration, the correspondence communicated to it, by her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

Lord Castlereagh deprecated the discussion, contending that it could not benefit those for whom it was intended. He said, that however much the circumstance was to be deplored, a final separation had taken place between the Prince and Princess. In 1809, a formal deed of separation had been executed, which had the signatures not only of the immediate parties, but of the King and his Cabinet Ministers. That the Princess then declared her

entire satisfaction with the provision made for her; but, if on account of the increased expenses of the times, a larger provision was required, he believed there would be no objection to such a Parliamentary measure. His Lordship also said, notwithstanding all the calumnious reports abroad, he was perfectly convinced that his Royal Highness harboured no feelings of a vindictive nature, and had no wish to disturb her Royal Highness in the enjoyment of her social feelings. He, for his part, was convinced, that in a country of truth and justice, like England, a time would arrive when character would triumph over all attacks!

Mr. Whitbread said, that the Princess's object was, the assertion of her innocence, and the rescuing herself from persecution, not the obtaining of money. She called for justice, and would never consent to barter her rights to increase her income. Money would be no sort of compensation for the injuries she had received. He alluded to the proposed marriage of the Princess Charlotte; and complained that the House had not been treated with proper respect, in not having received a communication on the subject. He did not say, that the match had been broken off on account of the drawing-room, but on account of the situation of the Princess of Wales. Having alluded to the illustrious visitors having been prevented from paying their respects to her, Lord Castlereagh denied the statement; but to which Mr. Whitbread replied, that the im-

pression upon the public mind was totally different.

Mr. Stuart Wortley approved of the discussion, Mr. Tierney made many judicious observations; the House, he said, should not suffer their future Queen to be insulted with impunity; they should protect her against secret advisers and cabals, and participate in the universal feeling. Mr. Grattan also approved of the motion; which, however, Mr. Methuen withdrew, in consequence of an understanding that some provision should be made for the Princess.

On the 4th of July, the House of Commons went into a Committee, on the papers laid on the table respecting the Princess of Wales.

Lord Castlereagh proposed that a net income of £50,000 per annum, should be granted to her Royal Highness, and which proposition was agreed to. Mr. Whitbread observed, that the Princess had never authorized any one to make any proposition on the subject of increasing her income; she had been satisfied with her allowance. As to the "separation" alluded to by the noble Lord, she had been no party to the use of that word. He had asked for protection, for mercy, for justice from the House, for the Princess of Wales, but never for money, nor had it ever been contemplated by her friends. Whatever she accepted, he said, it must be understood, that she gave up nothing of rank, of dignity, and of character, which by the grant of this separate and ample—too ample allowance, it was evident she held in the eyes of the nation.

On the next day, the Princess of Wales wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons, desiring that he would express to the House, her sincere thanks, for this extraordinary unsolicited mark of its munificence; and at the same time, desired the Speaker to inform the House, of her deep regret that the burdens of the people should be at all increased, on account of the circumstances in which she had been placed; and that she could not consent to any addition to those burdens, beyond what her actual situation might appear to require. She, therefore, hoped the House would pass a resolution for the purpose of limiting her income to £35,000 per annum, which would, she said, be quite sufficient, and which she would accept, with the liveliest gratitude, as an unequivocal proof that she had received the good opinion and protection of the House of Commons.

On the 8th, this letter was taken into consideration, and the £35,000, instead of £50,000, was voted, accompanied by an observation from Lord Castlereagh, that if Parliament agreed to the diminution, he hoped no person would be allowed, on that account, at any future period, to revive in that House, discussions which were so painful to every one, who felt a proper respect for the Royal dignity. To which Mr. Whitbread replied, that the true cause of all these painful "discussions" was the indignity and injustice heaped upon her.

At no period of her past life was the popularity

of the Princess greater than it was at this time. She had refused to add to the burthens of the people, by the acceptance of £15,000 per annum *less* than the Parliament had voted her; and although living in apparent seclusion, she was surrounded and advised by men who had the ability and power to defend her. Among these, Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Methuen, had made themselves conspicuous; and their known integrity, as well as their property and independence, gave great importance to all which emanated from them.

As to the personal situation of the Princess, at this period it was most grievous and vexatious. Deprived of intercourse with her beloved daughter, she saw, nevertheless, that she was the means of greatly disturbing her happiness; and the imputation was openly made, that the Princess Charlotte was induced by her mother to break off her intended union with the Prince of Orange. It is, however, certain that the step which she shortly afterwards took, of leaving England, was for her own tranquillity, as well as that of her daughter, since they were denied the happiness of seeing each other.

The Princess Charlotte had at this time obtained, by her kindness and affable manner, an ascendancy over her establishment at Warwick House, so that the Regent, or his advisers, were not able to prevent some kind of communication between the Princess of Wales and her daughter; and notwithstanding the severe prohibition, the Prin-

cess of Wales went once to Warwick House, a short time previously to the final rejection of the Prince of Orange.

On the 12th of July, the Prince of Wales visited Warwick House, and informed the Princess Charlotte, that he was come to dismiss all her household, and that she must immediately take up her residence in Carlton House, and from thence go to Cranbourn Lodge; and that five Ladies, whom he named, amongst whom were the Countess-dowager of Rosslyn, and the Countess of Ilchester, were in the next room, in readiness to wait upon her. After some expostulation on the part of the Princess Charlotte, the Prince remaining firm and resolute, she appeared to acquiesce in his determination; but pleading a wish to retire for a moment, to compose herself before she was introduced to the Ladies, she was permitted to do so; and whilst the Prince was engaged in close conversation with Miss Knight, a Lady of the Princess Charlotte's household, she, in an agony of despair, privately left Warwick House, and throwing herself into a Hackney Coach in Cockspur Street, drove to Connaught House, the residence of her mother. Here she found that the Princess of Wales was gone to Blackheath. She dispatched a servant to meet her; and then threw herself on a bed, exclaiming "I would rather earn my bread "and live upon five shillings a week, than live the "life I do." Before the Princess of Wales arrived, the Archbishop of Canterbury went to Connaught Place, to fetch the Princess Charlotte away; but

Sicard, a faithful servant of the Princess, refused to admit him, and shut the door in his face.

As soon as the discovery of the flight of the Princess Charlotte was made known to the Prince Regent, he sent for the Ministers, and a Council was held at the Foreign Office, and also at Carlton House. The Archbishop of Canterbury not succeeding in the object of his mission to Connaught House, the Duke of York was afterwards sent with a written message from the Prince, containing her father's commands to bring her to Carlton House.

On the arrival of the Princess of Wales from Blackheath, she drove immediately to the Parliament House, and eagerly inquired for Mr. Whitbread, who was absent; she then inquired for Earl Grey, who was not in town; and disappointed, she hastened to her own house in Connaught Place, and had an affecting interview with her daughter, with whom she continued till four o'clock in the morning. Soon after this time the Princess Charlotte was conveyed, by the Duke of York, to Carlton House; having been previously informed by Mr. Brougham, (who had been sent for by the Princess of Wales,) that by the laws of the land, she must obey her father's commands.

This affair of the Princess Charlotte excited considerable anxiety in the public mind; and on the 19th of July, his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex put several questions to the ministers in the House of Lords, relative to the liberty which her Royal Highness enjoyed in Carlton House;

but they were not answered. The Duke gave notice of a motion on the subject, for a subsequent day; but on the 25th, when it was to be discussed it, having appeared that the Princess Charlotte had been seen on horse-back, in Windsor Great Park, and that more lenient measures were about to be observed towards her, the Duke declined pressing his motion.

Shortly after the singular escape of the Princess Charlotte from Warwick House, a report was in general circulation, that the Princess of Wales had determined to leave this country, and to retire to the Continent, where her future abode was to be fixed. The truth of the report obtained confirmation, by a discussion which took place in the House of Commons, on the 30th of July; when it appeared, that her Royal Highness had given notice to his Majesty's ministers, that she intended to visit the Continent; and Lord Castlereagh, by whom this information was communicated added, that he was persuaded the House, in voting the addition to the income of her Royal Highness, had no design of imprisoning her in this country, or of preventing her from residing wherever she preferred.

Mr. Tierney said, he was sure that in the recent grant, the House had never contemplated the departure of her Royal Highness from this country. The step which she was about to take, was against the direct advice of Mr. Whitbread, and of every one who had the interests of the Princess of Wales at heart.

Before the Princess left London for Worthing, where it was intended that she should embark for the Continent, she wrote to the ministers, stating, that she intended to go to Cranbourne Lodge, to visit her daughter, and that she expected to be admitted; to which an answer was sent, that the Princess Charlotte would be allowed to come to Connaught House on the Saturday following. She did so visit her mother, but with her Ladies in waiting in full attendance, and in a carriage of the Regent's, with three of his own footmen, as outriders. After having dined with her mother, she returned the same evening to Cranbourne Lodge, and then in secret, gave vent to the tears which poured at the recollection of the parting kiss of her mother, and her own isolated situation. In her heart, she treasured up the last injunction of her mother:—"Look not, my beloved Charlotte," she said, "for consolation under your afflictions, from the hands of men; that is a mere temporary unsubstantive relief; it passeth away quickly like a shadow, leaving no trace of it behind; but let your appeal be always to your God; he hears the cries of the sufferer, and heals the wounds of the breaking heart: in prayer, his spirit will descend upon you, and full of faith in his unchangeable goodness, you will reap a rich reward of earthly happiness."

It is said, that at this affecting adieu, the Princess Charlotte, in private, confided a letter to the care of her mother, to be delivered to an individual who could open it with the rapture of the lover, and

who would hear from the lips of the mother; the expressions of the continued attachment of her daughter. The letter was subsequently delivered by her Royal Highness to the illustrious person to whom it was addressed, and the interview was attended with a high degree of satisfaction to all the parties interested, amongst whom was none more, perhaps, than Prince Leopold of Cobourg.

In the Princess's last letter to Lord Liverpool, in which she declared her intention of visiting the Continent; she complained of the mortifications which she had met with in this country, ever since she landed on its shores, and which had only been soothed by the affectionate protection of his Majesty, to the last hour of his mental intelligence; deprived of his countenance, she had no tie left but her daughter, and her society she was no longer permitted to enjoy. She offered to resign the rangership of Greenwich Park, in favour of the Princess Charlotte; and desired to keep her apartments in Kensington Palace for a short time; and she made also a few other requests, which were complied with.

On the 2nd of August the Princess arrived at her house near Worthing. The next evening she walked to that place, accompanied by her lady in waiting and attendants, where she sat for nearly two hours on the beach. The moon-beams danced on the waves, the pleasure boats glided at her feet, and at a distance lay at anchor the Jason frigate, which in a few days was to convey her to the Continent. Amidst this scene she appeared

lost in contemplation, and heeded not the admonitions of her attendants to retire, on account of her health. On a sudden she started up, exclaiming, "Grief is unavailing, when fate compels me." Then glancing over the ocean, she cried, "'Tis a glorious sight," and hastened home.

On the 9th, she proceeded to South Lancing, about two miles from Worthing, apparently wishing to avoid the crowd, assembled at the latter place to see her embark. There she entered the barge of the Jason, and kissed her hand to the females who waved their handkerchiefs: for the crowd had followed her in great numbers to Lancing. The farewell was silent, but impressive. On quitting the English shore, her Royal Highness was, however, much distressed, she fainted in the arms of her attendants, and continued in very low spirits; but the next day she became gradually composed. On the 12th, as the ship passed the Texel, a royal salute, at the request of the Princess, was fired, in honour of the Prince Regent's birth-day, and she drank his health at dinner. On the morning of the 16th, she arrived at Hamburgh with her suite, consisting of Sir William Gell, Mr. Keppel Craven, Dr. Holland, Mr. St. Leger, the Ladies Lindsay and Forbes, William Austin, Mr. Sicard, and Mr. Hieronymus; and Captain Hesse joined her at Brunswick.

The first evening of her arrival at Hamburgh, she visited the theatre, and was received with the loudest acclamations by the audience. On the

following morning she set out at an early hour for Brunswick, and on her approaching that city, on the 17th August, her feelings were too violent for her to restrain them; she burst into a flood of tears, for it was the scene of her early years, of early pleasures; and since her departure from it, she had experienced little else but sorrow and mortification in their most aggravated sense. She was met, at a short distance from Brunswick, by his Serene Highness the Duke. A general illumination took place by the delighted inhabitants, some of whom had known her as an infant, and many of whom had received from her the most endearing marks of personal attachment. It happened to be the Duke's birth-day; the festivities and rejoicings were unusually great, and the whole of the public authorities were ready at the palace to receive her Royal Highness. It was at Brunswick that some of her Royal Highness's suite left her.

In concluding this chapter it should be mentioned, that in her Royal Highness's determination to leave this country, she acted under the advice of the Right Honourable GEORGE CANNING, whose conduct, relative to the Princess of Wales at this time, as well as at other periods of her Royal Highness's eventful life, has been not a little extraordinary.

Shortly before her Royal Highness left England for the Continent, the Princess Charlotte was attacked with a complaint in her knee, and her physician ordered her to reside at Weymouth; but

notwithstanding such directions, she was prevented from attending to their wishes, and her health was consequently impaired, because it was suspected that if she there went to reside, she would be near the abode of her mother. From this time up to the departure of the Princess of Wales for the Continent, the mother and daughter corresponded constantly through a private channel, but the former determined that she would speedily remove, by her residence abroad, all preventives to the restoration of her daughter's health.

Thus commenced a fresh epoch in the life of the Princess of Wales which proved subsequently to be an æra yet more unfortunate to her, than those which had preceded. That her determination was unwise cannot be disputed, and the evils apprehended by Mr. Whitbread were soon experienced. She, however, quitted the shores of England, accompanied by the best wishes of all classes of the community.

## CHAPTER VII.

TRAVELS OF HER ROYAL HIGHNESS ON THE CONTINENT,  
FROM 1814 TO 1820, INCLUDING PARTICULARS OF HER  
RETURN TO ENGLAND.

When her Royal Highness arrived at Brunswick, she intended to confine her travels to Germany and Italy. During her short stay at Brunswick, about eleven days, the marked attentions which were paid to her, were peculiarly refreshing to her wounded spirit. England, her *adopted* country, she had quitted with many painful associations of mind; and it was very gratifying to her feelings, to excite and receive in her *native* country, the voluntary expressions of a sympathy arising out of her unprecedented and unmerited sufferings.

Leaving Brunswick on the 29th of August, under the title of the Countess of Cornwall, it was her Royal Highness's intention to pass the winter at Naples, and to return to Brunswick in the spring, where she purposed to take up her permanent residence; this part of her plan she was, however, prevented from carrying into execution, by the death of her brother, the reigning Duke, of which she received the intelligence at Milan.

On the 29th, the Princess arrived at Frankfort, on the Maine, where she remained two days, and during that short period, visited whatever was worthy of observation in the town and its vicinity. At Bingen, celebrated for its memorable battle, she passed several hours; and charmed with the prospect which presents itself from the heights, she exposed herself to a temporary embarrassment, by a too long indulgence of the pleasure which it afforded her, for, returning to the city, she found its gates shut, and was under the necessity of sending to the Governor, who instantly repairing to her, personally admitted her Royal Highness into the city.

Quitting Frankfort, she arrived at Strasburg, on the 6th of September. Continuing in that city several days, the Princess visited the public places, and promenades, and expressed great satisfaction with the various exhibitions and amusements which she witnessed. The public functionaries had severally the honour of paying to her their respects, and she received them with that affability and condescension which rendered her the ornament of polished society.

At Bern, she received a visit from her Imperial Highness, the Grand Duchess Anne Feodoroffna, consort of the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, and sister of Prince Leopold; who, in consequence of the inhuman treatment received from her husband, was under the painful necessity of returning to her native country. The identity of circumstances in which these illustrious personages thus

met, must have imparted an impressive character to their interview, and produced a mutual attraction. At this place also the *ci devant* Empress of France, Maria Louisa, had recently arrived. Alike unhappy, these illustrious Princesses powerfully interested each other. The Princess of Wales having visited the Ex-empress, invited her to dinner. Dr. Holland, and another gentleman, acted as Gentlemen Ushers on the occasion. The conversation was distinguished by great spirit and feeling: and in the course of the evening, the Ex-empress honoured the company by singing two Italian airs; after which, she proposed to the Princess of Wales, to join her in a favourite glee, which was executed by these illustrious personages with equal grace, feeling, and effect.

An entertainment in honour of the Princess of Wales, was afterwards given by the Ex-empress, at which many distinguished individuals were present.

Illustrious by birth, and matrimonial connexion, the personal sorrows of these three distinguished individuals arose apparently out of the elevation to which those circumstances had raised them. Examples of grandeur without happiness—of wealth without peace; how impressive was the lesson which their destiny inculcated; and, how reconciling to that mediocrity of station, which, if it is destitute of the glare of attraction, is exempt from the extremes of fortune.

From Bern the Princess proceeded to Palermo, Lansaune and Geneva. During her residence at

the latter of these places, she was highly gratified by the society of the celebrated Sismondi, author of some valuable works on Italian literature; and with Monsieur de Saussure, brother of the celebrated De Saussure, who first reached the summit of Mont Blanc. The society of literary characters was, indeed, at all times, the principal delight of her Royal Highness; and she often observed, that in such society, she experienced more satisfaction, than she ever felt at the most pompous entertainments.

Having decided upon Italy as the place of her future residence, her Royal Highness proceeded thither by short stages, and on the 9th of October, arrived at Milan, where she was received with the highest honours. On the same evening, the Princess visited the theatre of Della Scalla, accompanied by persons of the highest distinction, both foreigners and natives. The story of her mighty wrongs had preceded her, and excited on her behalf a depth of sympathy, proportioned to her unmerited sufferings.

On the 17th, about noon, *il campo di marto* was crowded by spectators, attracted thither to view the military parade, composed of infantry and cavalry, who were to manœuvre and fire, in honour of her Royal Highness, who was seated on the most conspicuous part of a spacious area prepared for the occasion. Riding afterwards along the ranks, she received the acclamations of the surrounding multitudes, mingled with shouts of liberty and independence, apparently inspired by

her presence. Attended by Count Bellegarde, and all the Officers of his Etat Major, she visited the theatre in the evening, which was most brilliantly illuminated on the occasion. An immense concourse of people, continually testified their delight at the presence of her Royal Highness, who frequently acknowledged their attentions by gracefully bowing to the company. She was also waited upon by the literati of the country, anxious to testify their respect and homage to an injured Princess, and a distinguished friend of literature.

Her Royal Highness had not, however, remained long at Milan, before she discovered that the ruthless enmity which had chased her from the shores of Britain, had pursued her to her present residence.

Amongst the distinguished personages who composed her Royal Highness's suite, were Mr. St. Leger, and Lady Charlotte Lindsay, who quitted the Princess in Germany. Mr. St. Leger was influenced by the double motive of his own ill health, and a desire to return to his daughter, who was living alone. Lady Charlotte Lindsay left her Royal Highness for the purpose of visiting her relations, and afterwards rejoined her at Naples, with her brother, Lord North. So far, therefore, as these illustrious individuals are concerned, it is obvious that *they* cannot be included in the reason which was afterwards assigned by the enemies of her Royal Highness, for the retirement of nearly the whole of the suite, who accompanied the Princess from England.

Purposing ultimately to visit not only the south of Europe, but, also, to extend her travels into Asia, and Africa: it was necessary to increase her suite, and especially with a description of persons who were accustomed to travel; and, amongst the various persons recommended to her Royal Highness, was Bartolomeo Pergami, whom the Princess appointed to the situation of cabinet Courier; an officer, who, as he is necessarily entrusted with despatches of importance, is usually a person entitled to special confidence, the basis of which is obviously respectability of character. Acquainted with various languages—accustomed to travel—possessed of extensive information, and descended from a respectable family, fallen into decay, he possessed precisely the qualifications, which fitted him for the situation to which he was appointed by her Royal Highness. If proof of the respectability of his family were necessary, it is furnished by the honourable marriages of his three sisters. The first, married to Count Oldi, the second to M. Severgrini, of an ancient family at Cremona, and the third to M. Martini de Lodi, brother of the Ex-Secretary-General of the Captaincy of Padua, when commanded by the Baron de Goetz. In a country where family pride is notorious, the impartial enquirer must be convinced, that nothing, therefore, can be less true, than the imputation of meanness to the family of Pergami, since by such alliances its respectability was demonstrated.

M. Pergami, the eldest son, embraced a mil-

tary life, and was attached to the *etat-major* of the troops commanded by General Count Pino, in the campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814, as attested by the following declaration of General Major Galemberti.

“ I declare that M. le Baron Bartolomo Pergami, of Cremona, Knight of Malta, served in the *etat-major* of the troops commanded by his Excellency Count Pino, Lieutenant-general, to whom I was the chief of the *etat-major* in the late campaigns of 1812, 1813, 1814.”

(Signed) Le GENERAL-MAJOR GALEMBERTI.

*Milan, Nov. 1, 1816.*

Seen and certified by me,

LIEU.-GEN. COUNT PINO.

Pergami having received an offer of the brevet rank of Captain, from Joachim, King of Naples, declined it in order to remain in the service of her Royal Highness. As, however, many suspicions were subsequently occasioned, and even charges founded on the elevation of this individual by her Royal Highness, to the situation of Chamberlain, it is particularly important, that the documents contained in Appendix No. II. relating to his property, family, and character should be attentively perused. That perusal will demonstrate that he was of a good family—received an excellent education—inherited considerable patrimonial estates—was a soldier, an honourable man, and a gentleman; and that, though his fortune, at the time he was taken into the service of her Royal Highness, was reduced, his character was unblemished. The

accuracy of those documents is indisputable ; and if, therefore, any suspicions may have hitherto existed as to the propriety of the elevation of Pergami by the Princess, in consequence of the supposed inferiority of his family, character, education, and circumstances, an impartial perusal of such documents must at once remove it.

To proceed. After spending sometime at Milan, the Princess proceeded to Rome. To a cultivated mind, like that of her Royal Highness's, how interesting must have been the approach to that celebrated city, at the sight of which the language of the *heart*, if not of the lips, of every sentimental traveller cannot fail to be,

“ O Rome ! my country, city of the soul.”

The downs which the traveller passes, after leaving Monterosi, sink into green shrubby dells, as he arrives within five or six miles of Rome. The Monte Mario stretches forward its high woody platform, on the right. The distant plain of the Tyber and the Campagna, to the left, is closed by the Tiburtine and Alban hills. In the midst Rome herself, wide spreading from the Vatican to the pine-covered Pincian, is seen, at intervals, so far apart as to appear more than a single city. Arrived at the banks of the Tyber, he does not find the muddy insignificant stream which the disappointments of over-heated expectations have described it, but one of the finest rivers in Europe, now rolling through a vale of gardens, and now sweeping the base of swelling acclivities clothed with wood, and crowned with villas and their evergreen shrubberies. The gate

of the city is seen immediately on crossing the river at the end of a vista, two miles in length; and the suburb is not composed of mean dwellings, but a fine road with a wide pavement passes between the walls of the vineyards and orchards, with here and there neat summer-houses, or arched gateways rising on either hand, and becoming more frequent with the nearer approach to the city. The Flaminian gate, although it is thought unworthy of Rome and Michäel Angelo, will content those who are not fastidious. An entrance not an arch of triumph is sufficient for the modern capital. The stranger, when within the gate, may ascend at once by the new road winding up the Pincian mount, and enjoy from that eminence the view of a city, which, whatever may be the faults of its architectural details, is, when seen in the mass, incomparably the handsomest in the world. The pure transparent sky above him will seem made, as it were, to give brilliancy to the magnificent prospect below. The new climate will indeed add much to his delight, for although amongst those branches of the Apennines which approach within forty miles of the city, he may have been chilled by the rigours of a Lombard sky, he is no sooner in the plain of the Tyber, than his spirits expand in an atmosphere, which, in many seasons, preserves an unsullied lustre and exhilarating warmth from the rains of autumn to the tempests of the vernal equinox. What has been said and sung of the tepid winter of Italy, is not intelligible to the north of Rome; but in that divine city, for

some transport may be allowed to the recollection of all its attractions, the praises of Virgil must be assented to, and his poetry felt to have spoken the language of truth.

*“Hic ver assiduum atque alienis mensibus æstas.”*

This must have been written at Rome. The banks of his frozen Mincio would have inspired no such rapture. But not the superb structures of the modern town, nor the happy climate, have made Rome the country of every man and “the city of the soul.” The education which has qualified the traveller of every nation for that citizenship which is again become, in one point of view, what it once was, the portion of the whole civilized world, prepares for him at Rome enjoyments independent of the city and inhabitants about him, and of all the allurements of site and climate. He will already have peopled the banks of the Tyber with the shades of Pompey, Constantine, and Belisarius, and the other heroes of the Milvian bridge. The first footsteps within the venerable walls will have shewn him the name and the magnificence of Augustus, and the three long narrow streets branching from this obelisk, like the theatre of Palladio, will have imposed upon his fancy with an air of antiquity congenial to the soil. Even the mendicants of the country asking alms in Latin prayers, and the vineyard gates of the suburbs inscribed with the ancient language may be allowed to contribute to the agreeable delusion. Of the local sanctity which

belongs to Athens, Rome, and Constantinople, the two first may be thought to possess, perhaps, an equal share. The latter is attractive chiefly for that site which was chosen for the retreat and became the grave of empire. The Greek capital may be more precious in the eyes of the artist, and, it may be, of the scholar, but yields to the magnitude, the grandeur, and variety of the Roman relics. The robe of the Orientals has spread round Athens an air of antique preservation, which the European city and the concourse of strangers have partially dispelled from Rome. But the required solitude may be occasionally found amongst the vaults of the Palatine, or the columns of the great Forum itself. Ancient and modern Rome are linked together, like the dead and living criminals of Mezentius. The present town may be easily forgotten amidst the wrecks of the ancient metropolis; and a spectator on the tower of the capitol may turn from the carnival throngs of the Corso, to the contiguous fragments of the old city, and not behold a single human being. The general effect of such a prospect may be felt by any one; and ignorance may be consoled by hearing that a detailed examination must be made the study rather of a life than of a casual visit.\*

Immediately upon her arrival at Rome, her Royal Highness was visited by the Ex-King and Queen of Spain. The Queen of Etruria, with

\* Vide Historical Illustrations of Childe Harold. By J. C. Hobhouse, Esq.

her children, testified her respect for the Princess by an early visit. On the 2nd of November, she had an interview with the Pope, who received her with those marks of respect, which were due to her rank. On the same day, she also visited the Vatican. Inquisitive, observant, and enthusiastic on subjects and places illustrative of the history, and the present state of literature, the Vatican presented to her Royal Highness, a scene replete with the most interesting associations; for, “after having traversed the Court of St. Damasus, and its adjoining halls and chapels, which may be considered as the state apartments of the Vatican, she passed to that part of the palace which is called the *Belvidere*, from its elevation and prospect, and proceeding along an immeasurable gallery, came to an iron door on the left, that opens into the *library of the Vatican*. A large apartment for the two keepers, the secretaries, or rather the interpreters, seven in number, who can speak the principal languages in Europe, and who attend for the convenience of learned foreigners; a double gallery of two hundred and twenty feet long, opening into another of eight hundred, with various rooms, cabinets, and apartments annexed, form the receptacle of this noble collection. These galleries and apartments are all vaulted, and all painted with different effect, by painters of different eras and talents. The paintings have all some reference to literature, sacred or prophane, and take in a vast scope of history and mythology. The books are kept in cases; and in the Vatican

the traveller seeks in vain for that pompous display of volumes, which he may have seen and admired in other libraries. Their number has never been accurately stated, some confine it to two hundred thousand, others raise it to four hundred thousand, and many swell it to a million. The mean is probably the most accurate.

“ But the superiority of this library, arises not from the quantity of printed books, but the multitude of its manuscripts, which are said to amount to more than fifty thousand. Some of these manuscripts of the highest antiquity, such as that of Virgil of the fifth century, a Greek bible of the sixth, a Terence of the same date, &c. &c. were taken by the French and sent to Paris. The origin of this library is attributed by some, to Pope Hilarius, in the fifth century; but although it is probable, that long before that period, the Roman church must have possessed a considerable stock of books for the use of its clergy, yet the Popes may be supposed to have been too much occupied with the dangers and difficulties of the times, to have had leisure or means necessary for the formation of the libraries. However, that several volumes had been collected at an early period, seems certain, as it is equally so, that Pope Zacharias, augmented their number very considerably, about the middle of the eighth century. Nicholas V. established the library in the Vatican, and enlarged the collection; while Calixtus III. is said to have enriched it with many volumes, saved from the libraries of Constan-

tinople, at the taking of that city. From this period, it continued in a regular progression, receiving, almost every year, vast additions, sometimes even of whole libraries, (as those of the Elector Palatine, of the Dukes of *Urbino*, of Queen Christina); owing not only to the favour of the Pontiff and various Princes, but to the well-directed zeal of its librarians; many of whom have been men both of eminent talents, and of high rank and extensive influence. The French invasion, which brought with it so many evils, and, like a *blast from hell*, checked the prosperity of Italy in every branch, and in every province; not only put a stop to the increase of the Vatican library, but, by plundering it of some of its most valuable manuscripts, lowered its reputation, and undid, at once, the labour and exertions of ages.

The galleries of the library open into various apartments, filled with antiques, medals, cameos, &c. One in particular is consecrated to the monuments of christian antiquity, and contains a singular and unparalleled collection of instruments of torture employed in the first persecutions; as also the dyptics, or registers of communion of the great churches, monumental inscriptions, &c.; a collection highly interesting to the ecclesiastical historian and the enlightened christian.

“ The grand gallery which leads to the library, terminates in the Museum Pio—Clementinum. Clement XVI. has the merit of having first conceived the idea of this museum, and began to put

it in execution. The late Pope Pius VI. continued it on a much larger scale, and gave it its present extent and magnificence. It consists of several apartments, galleries, halls, and temples, some lined with marble, others paved with ancient mosaics, and all filled with statues, vases, candelabras, tombs, and altars. The size and proportion of these apartments, their rich materials and furniture, the well-managed light poured in upon them, and the multiplicity of admirable articles collected in them, and disposed in the most judicious and striking arrangement, fill the mind of the spectator with astonishment and delight, and form the most magnificent and grand combination that, perhaps, has been ever beheld, or can almost be imagined. Never were the divinities of Greece and Rome honoured with nobler temples; never did they stand on richer pedestals; never were more glorious domes spread over their heads, or brighter pavements extended at their feet. Seated each in a shrine of bronze or marble, they seemed to look down on a crowd of votaries, and once more to challenge the homage of mankind; while kings and emperors, heroes and philosophers, drawn up in ranks before or around them, increased their state, and formed a majestic and becoming retinue. To augment their number, excavations, were daily made, and generally attended with success, and many a statue buried for ages under heaps of ruins, or lost in the obscurity of some unfrequented desert, was rescued

from the gloom of oblivion, and restored to the curiosity and admiration of the public."†

Having explored the Vatican, her Royal highness was visited by the Prince Canino, and the celebrated Canova, and on the 3rd of November, the Prince Canino gave a brilliant fête in honour of her Royal Highness.

The marked attentions which the Princess received during her short stay at Rome, may be considered as so many practical contradictions of the calumniating reports which had followed her to that city. Her Royal Highness needed only to be *known*, in order to discredit the voice of slander; and those who had the means of observation, did her ample justice. The consciousness of innocence was a buckler against the shafts of her causeless enemies; and the heroism of her spirit, which was uniform, carried her above the vexations under which a mind, less firm, would have succumbed. Under happier influences, the distinctive attribute of her character would have been *sweetness of disposition*; but the ruin of her domestic peace, and the cruel destiny which doomed her to wander in quest of solace, roused the latent energies of her exalted mind, and imparted to it the *grandeur of moral heroism*.

The visit of her Royal Highness to Rome was but of short duration; and on the 9th of Nov. 1814, she arrived at Naples, where she was received with appropriate honours. The King of

† A Classical Tour through Italy. By the Rev. J. C. Eustace.

Naples met the Princess at a short distance from the city, which she entered in the King's carriage, amidst the loudest acclamations. A guard of honour, selected from the royal guard, was immediately stationed at the house occupied by her Royal Highness. It was previously taken for the Princess, but being too small to accommodate the whole of her suite, Sir William Gell and the Hon. Keppel Craven, her Chamberlains, took lodgings at a house in the neighbourhood; but continued their attendance alternately, throughout the whole day, and sometimes together. On the 17th, the King of Naples inspected the School of Mars, at Aversa, and, after awaiting the arrival of her Royal Highness, invited her to a collation, at which she attended, and accompanying the King, the Princess, seated in his carriage on his right hand, took the road to the capital, preceded by the inhabitants of the villages between Aversa and Naples, who testified their respect for the Royal Visitor by ceaseless acclamations.

Her Royal Highness, having continued her residence in Naples from November to March, was then induced to quit that city, partly on account of the excessive expense of residing there, but principally in consequence of those great political changes, which were then about to take place in that country. Her finances were, indeed, considerably depressed.

On quitting Naples, her Royal Highness repaired to Rome. Remaining, however, some time at Civita Vecchia, she afterwards embarked

for Genoa, and in the course of her voyage left Lady Charlotte Lindsay at Leghorn. At Genoa, her Royal Highness met with Lady Glenbervie, formerly her Lady of honour, who, as well as Lord Glenbervie, remained seven weeks with the Princess. Captain Hownam, who had received an invitation to become private secretary to her Royal Highness, joined the Princess at Genoa. The *Clorinde* frigate having brought Lady Charlotte and family to Genoa; Lady Charlotte remained with the Princess until the following May, when they arrived at Milan.

Influenced by an affectionate disposition, rather than by the rules of a cautious policy, her Royal Highness, regardless of consequences, furnished at that time her enemies with matter of accusation, by adopting the infant child of Pergami, named Victorine. A similar instance of benevolence in taking the infant son of the Austins under her protection, had given rise to the basest imputations; which, equally groundless and malicious, ultimately recoiled upon her enemies. That she should have so acted, is indeed to be regretted, not from any impropriety in the act itself, but from the suspicions which it was calculated to excite, and the occasion it would afford for enquiry, if not for animadversion.

At Genoa, her Royal Highness was placed in circumstances of great embarrassment, with regard to her suite. Finding herself without an English Chamberlain, she wrote to Mr. St. Leger, to join her at Genoa, with his family, and offered to his

daughter, the post of Maid of Honour. Mr. St. Leger, however, declined, alleging ill health as his reason for such refusal. Sir Humphrey and Lady Davy, who were at Naples, were also offered appointments, but they declined on the plea of travelling with a different object. Mr. William Rose, brother of the English Minister at Berlin, refused a similar application, on the ground of ill health. Mr. Davenport refused, asserting the necessity of his return to England. Mr. Hartop, cousin to Mr. Brougham, returned to England to rejoin his family. Dr. Holland quitted her Royal Highness at Naples.

The departure of Lady Charlotte Campbell, formed a new embarrassment to her Royal Highness, who was always solicitous to have her suite exclusively formed of the English. To the English character she was attached, and their manners and dispositions best harmonized with her own. She, therefore, made proposals to Lord and Lady Malpas, who were then at Milan, to enter her service; they were, however, rejected.

Deserted and refused by the English, her Royal Highness was under the necessity of composing her Court of Italians. But though reduced to this necessity, the Princess surrounded herself with persons not only of the most honourable character, but of great talents and distinguished merits.

The physician of her Royal Highness was Dr. Mochetti, of Como, formerly Professor of Botany, Agriculture, and Natural History; author of many

valuable productions; and member of various academies.

Chevalier Chiavini, of a noble and opulent family at Cremona, became her first equerry. The Chevalier Tomasia, prefect of a department under the late government of Italy, was honoured with the particular confidence of her Royal Highness. The distinguished professors Count Volta, and M. Configliachi, were deserving of the esteem with which her Royal Highness honoured them. M. Cavelleti, formerly equerry to the Emperor Napoleon, and the Chevalier Vassali, persons of high consideration, frequently attended the court of her Royal Highness.

At Milan, where the Princess remained but a short time, she became acquainted with Mr. Burrell, a son of Lord Gwydir, whom she invited to remain a few months with her; in consequence of which Mr. Burrell accompanied her Royal Highness to Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, and Venice; but, being indisposed to a long sea-voyage, he left the Princess at Como, in the month of August, at the house of the Marchioness Villani, in the Borgo Vico.

Mr. Burrell, on leaving her Royal Highness, repaired to Brussels; and it was at that place that White, one of his servants, propagated the most absurd as well as injurious stories respecting various transactions, alledged to have taken place in the establishment of her Royal Highness. These stories being communicated by White to the servants of the Duke and Duchess of Cum-

berland, who were then on their way to England, soon became the subject of conversation at the Court of Pall-Mall, and gave rise to the mission of Lord Stewart, brother of Lord Castlereagh, who was quickly sent to Milan, for the purpose of investigating the truth of the reports in circulation respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness. From this mission, emanated the infamous Milan commission, whose unparelled proceedings subsequently roused the indignation of the British public, and indeed, of the whole civilized world.

It was at this period that the Princess of Wales purchased of the Countess Pino, a pleasant villa upon the banks of the Lake of Como. The house immediately fronting the lake—the climate being salubrious, and the surrounding country of exquisite beauty, it appeared to her Royal Highness, as precisely adapted to her present situation and future prospects. There surrounded by a select society of persons, respectable, rather on the ground of personal character than of rank; she tranquilly enjoyed the pleasures of music, dramatic performances at her own private theatre, walking, riding on horseback, or in the carriage, and occasional excursions in a gondola, rarely quitting her Casino for the bustle of the town. Peace, order, and harmony reigned in her family; and, although she did not court the society of the nobility, those who presented themselves were suitably received by her; and her cultivated mind disposed her, in the choice of society, to

prefer intellectual qualities to titled vacuity of mind.

Soon after the purchase of the house on the lake of Como, her Royal Highness, with a liberality which habitually distinguished her conduct, gave orders for the construction of a road of nearly two miles in length, and reaching from Como to her house, ornamented by an avenue of trees, planted at her own expense. She laid the first stone of the bridge in person, and on a pillar near the Villa d'Este, is inscribed an appropriate Latin inscription.

In the month of August 1815, her Royal Highness visited Mount St. Gothard; from whence she proceeded to Borromeo. Leaving the Villa d'Este on the 12th of November following, the Princess slept that night at Milan; arrived at Novi on the 13th, and on the 14th at Genoa; from which place she embarked on board the *Leviathan*, on her voyage to Sicily. A contrary wind obliged the ship to remain at anchor; and, on the succeeding day, the wind became so boisterous as to excite a fear of the ship being driven on shore; to avoid this she was under the necessity of putting to sea; in accomplishing which the vessel was exposed to imminent danger. On the 18th her Royal Highness and suite passed the island of Capri, in the Gulf of Naples, and anchored the same night in the port of Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba. On the following day they disembarked, and paid a visit to the house of Napoleon, or rather to his prison, for it was a building

as ill situated and inconvenient as could be well imagined. There were eight very small chambers below, and above a hall, in which the portrait of Napoleon, painted at his coronation, was preserved. There were, besides, three small apartments, which were occupied by the Princess, his sister; and at the side of the house was a garden, which was laid out by Napoleon; and a theatre, in which his officers performed plays for his amusement. The town of Elba is neat and interesting, though small, and is paved throughout with cut stone: it was much improved by Napoleon, during his residence, who formed a fine road to it four leagues in length, and effected the discovery of iron, and other minerals, in some of the mountains. Whilst Napoleon was there, he circulated money freely; and his loss was severely felt and lamented.

Her Royal Highness re-embarked on the 20th, but, owing to an unfavorable wind, did not sail until the 22d. On the 24th she passed the island of Monte Christo, and arrived at Palermo on the 26th. This town, though large, is destitute of any object of curiosity, and remarkable only for its filthiness. At Palermo, she was received with appropriate distinctions.

On the 4th of December, at seven o'clock in the evening, the Princess quitted Palermo; on the following day entered the straits of Messina, and arrived in the evening at that city. Engaging a house at a short distance from the city, her Royal Highness remained there until the 6th of

January. Messina is in rank the second town in Sicily; but prettier and cleaner than Palermo.

Quitting Messina on the 6th of January, the Princess embarked on board the *Clorinde* frigate, commanded by Captain Pechell. Catania is only seven leagues distant from Messina, but landing there was rendered impracticable, by the violence of the weather, and the want of a port. The gale being extremely heavy exposed the vessel to considerable danger. No sooner were the sails set than they were rent into a thousand fragments. Four days were thus passed in misery and fear; but at length, on the 10th of January, the *Clorinde* entered the port of Syracuse.

Syracuse is now a small town, though formerly much celebrated. Amongst numerous antiquities worthy of remark, is that called Dionysius's ear: "it is a grotto, hollowed in the rock, in the form of an ear, and was constructed by Dionysius, the famous tyrant. The echo is surprising; a pistol fired in it produces the effect of a cannon-shot; and words uttered in a very low tone, are repeated distinctly by the echo. It was here that the unfortunate victims of the tyrant's brutality were confined! He had caused a small chamber to be constructed above, in which all the complaints of the prisoners below could be heard. He placed a sentinel there, who, in the morning, related to him what had been said against himself, during the night; and, influenced by a fear that the soldier might disclose the secret of the small chamber, he strangled him: every evening

he caused a fresh sentinel to be placed there, and every morning he was, himself, his assassin.

At Syracuse are shown also the catacombs, or vaults, in which were the sepulchres, and into which the old men, women, and children, fled in time of war. There exist still, at Syracuse, the ruins of many temples, sacred to the gods and goddesses, whom the Syracusans of former ages worshipped. The temple of Minerva is the most ancient; it is now converted into the great church, and is said to be the most ancient structure in the world. The ruins of the houses of the Saracens are still visible; they were hollowed out in the rock; the tables and chairs were also formed of the rock. Syracuse formerly possessed four considerable cities, all of which are now reduced to ruins.

After a residence of about a fortnight at Syracuse, her Royal Highness proceeded to Catania in a kind of sedan chair, with a mule before and one behind; the narrowness and ruggedness of the roads rendering it impracticable to travel in carriages. Sleeping at Albentina on the 29th of January, a small ruined town of great antiquity, the Princess reached Catania on the 30th; a neat town at the foot of Mount Etna, which has several times been destroyed and rebuilt. About it are scattered masses of fire-stone, in size equal to cottages, and in colour like coal, which have emanated from the volcano. There was formerly a port, but it is now choked up with lava. The nobility of Catania tendered their respects to her Royal Highness.

The Princess continued at Catania from the 30th of January to the 25th of February, when she departed for Augusta; a small town, remarkable only for the excellence of its harbour. On the 26th of March, a small vessel, called the Royal Charlotte, belonging to her Royal Highness, arrived at Augusta; and on the 2d of April, she embarked, with her suite, for Girgenti; but which she was prevented from visiting by the shallowness of the harbour.

On the 3rd of April, the Princess set sail on her visit to Africa; which, although the distance was one hundred and sixty miles, she reached it in a single night. At day-break appeared the shores of Africa! but it was night before the vessel could get into the roads of Tunis.

Her Royal Highness, wearied with the perpetual rocking of the vessel, resolved to brave the perils of the waves, in order to pass the night on land. She landed accordingly, at the Goletta, from whence the city is distant fifteen miles; this distance may be travelled either by land or water, there being a species of salt-water lake, which runs nearly up to the houses. They then took up their residence in the house of the English Consul; but, two days after, the Bey made an offer to the Princess of a magnificent palace, which had not as yet been occupied, and was not even entirely fitted up. Her Royal Highness accepted it, and went thither with all her suite; she was received and treated with the honours due to her merit and her birth, having

constantly a guard of honour at her command, composed of the chief Officers of the Bey's household, by whom she was accompanied whenever she went abroad.

On the 6th, her Royal Highness visited the Bey, at his country palace, about three miles distant from the town. Her suite occupied five carriages, and had about forty Officers on horseback as an escort; they were dressed in different modes, but so fantastically, that they had the appearance of imaginary, rather than real beings. Her Royal Highness and suite were all greatly amused with the setting out of this grotesque band; but they were struck most forcibly, by the contrast of their ridiculous costumes with the beauty of the horses on which they were mounted, and their saddles of red velvet, embroidered with gold, and ornamented with precious stones. The address and activity they displayed in the management of their fiery animals was astonishing. During the short journey they went through a curious evolution, with a view to amuse the Princess; part of them galloped a quarter of a league in advance, then, returning with the rapidity of lightning, loaded their carbines and fired them, carrying on a mock fight with each other. It excited her surprize to see their horses at full speed, the bridle thrown on their necks, gallop, or rather cleave the air, without swerving from the path; and the riders at the same moment, without any manner of support, manage their carbines so actively, and fire them with so much

skill. Her suite arrived at the palace of the Bey, surrounded by an immense crowd; the cannons of the fortress having announced the arrival of her Royal Highness, the two Princes and the chief Minister, came out to receive her Royal Highness. After traversing many courts and anti-chambers, they were introduced to the presence of the Bey, who was seated on cushions, and encircled by his Ministers and principal Officers: he received the Princess with great politeness, and her Royal Highness presented to him the whole of her suite. After a short conversation, through the medium of an interpreter, he inquired whether she had a desire to see his seraglio; the Princess having expressed her assent, he gave her his hand, and she beckoned to her suite to follow her. The gentlemen notwithstanding their excessive curiosity, were under the necessity of remaining at the door, and awaiting. The first wife of the Bey, received the Princess, in a circular court, in the centre of the apartments; they were then led into a spacious and magnificent chamber, covered with mirrors, in which were a number of women of all ages, clothed without the least taste, but with great splendor; they were loaded with gold, diamonds, and precious stones, from head to foot, and being without stockings, many of them had a diamond chain round the ancle, and the fingers, and even the thumbs, were loaded with rich rings, and the tips of them stained black.

The Princess remarked, that the greater number

of the women were dark, and that, they were much more beautiful than those who were more fair. The Princess, the Bey, and his favourite wife, were seated on cushions, and black slaves presented them with beautiful napkins, embroidered with gold. They were perfumed with the finest essences of Barbary in such profusion, that it became unpleasant. After the perfume had been so distributed, a collation was provided, of the most splendid description. It was prepared by a beautiful Italian lady, the wife of the first physician to the Bey, and she performed the honours of the entertainment. After the collation, the first musical corps of the Court was introduced, consisting of six women, the youngest of whom was more than sixty years of age. One was lame, another one-eyed, a third blind, and so on with the rest; and all were so immoderately fat, that they could with difficulty move. They placed themselves on the floor, and commenced playing a sort of charivari, that deafened the ears; such, however, was the best display of music, at the Court of Tunis. The air finished. After a short prelude, one of these beings extended an enormous mouth, and amused the company with the tones of a voice so hoarse and discordant, that it would be injustice to compare it to any other than that of an owl, screaming at night, on the tower of some ruined castle; and it was more than requisite for the suite to remember, that they were in the presence of two Sovereigns, to enable them to repress their

laughter; more especially, as the Princess had the air of listening with great attention, and bestowed some eulogiums on the *sweet* and *harmonious* voice of the beautiful nymph. The Bey was delighted with her complaisance, and assured her, that it was his most delightful resource, in his moments of ennui and dissatisfaction. The two Princes, who had been present throughout, then requested her Royal Highness to condescend to visit their seraglio. She found it much more numerous than that of their father, but by no means so rich. There were many women, of different nations, who had been carried off from their parents while yet young. These hapless victims, once immured, never again mingled in society; they live there, and there they end their days. A stranger so seldom meets their eye, that they were so delighted to see their visitors, they were at a loss how to express their excessive joy. Some of them spoke Italian, but not very well; great part were seated on cushions, and were so immoderately fat, as to be unable to rise without assistance; these were the most admired, and to them all the homage was paid. Prince Mustapha, entering unexpectedly, caused the same movement amongst them, as a wolf would in the fold. All were cast down and trembling; but, afterwards in some measure recovering their cheerfulness, they went, one after the other, with the most profound submission, to kiss his hand, not according to the English custom, but on the palm, for such is the fashion of the Turks. Whilst these unfortunate slaves thus dis-

charged their duty, their tyrant remained motionless as a statue, without even deigning to bestow on them a glance of approbation or kindness.

A collation was set before her Royal Highness and suite, extremely well served, and consisting of every rarity and delicacy; and they were again, many times, sprinkled with perfumes. The ladies would not suffer her Royal Highness to depart; and, on her rising, they pressed her to be seated again, in a manner so suppliant and earnest, that she could not deny them; and it was not till they had made a visit of five hours that they left them. They accompanied her Royal Highness as far as the Court, making the most affecting gestures. Her Royal Highness having taken leave of the Bey and all his Court, returned to Tunis in the same manner in which she left it.

The kindness of the Bey to her Royal Highness was singularly great. In addition to providing her with a magnificent palace, he daily provided dinner for the Princess, and the whole of her suite, at an expence of thirty louis-d'ors per day. For the various excursions which her Royal Highness made into the couniry, the Bey always provided the necessary horses and carriages; and sleeping generally at one of his country houses, she invariably found every thing prepared for her with princely magnificence.

Her Royal Highness, impelled by the most laudable curiosity, visited Utica, celebrated chiefly for the self-destruction of Cato, the last, if not the greatest of Roman republicans. She then visited

Saroine, remarkable for numerous vestiges of ancient days; and, amongst others, the famous aqueduct which supplied Carthage with water, and which is sixty miles in length. The Princess next visited the renowned Carthage, but circumstances now obliged her to make the most speedy preparations for quitting Africa.

Her Royal Highness intended to have passed the whole of the month of April at Tunis; but Lord Exmouth having unexpectedly arrived with the English fleet, his Lordship requested her Royal Highness to embark as speedily as possible, as the Bey appeared resolved to refuse the surrender of certain slaves demanded by his Lordship, as the refusal of the Bey, if persisted in, would compel him to resort to compulsory measures. Several vessels were sent by Lord Exmouth to receive the baggage of the Princess. The inhabitants of Tunis, in the greatest consternation, expected every moment that the English fleet would open a fire upon the city.

On the 22d her Royal Highness embarked, and, under a brisk wind, passed in front of the fleet: each ship fired twenty-one round of cannon, in honour of the Princess of Wales; the flags were mounted, and the masts and yards manned with sailors dressed uniformly; the whole producing a very pleasing effect. Lord Exmouth sailed on the 23d, and her Royal Highness on the 24th, steering towards the shores of Greece.

On the 28th, the Princess passed the island of Pantalania, and on the following day that of

Gozo. Entering the harbour, and having arrived from Tunis, they were not allowed to land without performing quarantine. On the 31st, the wind being favourable, her Royal Highness continued her voyage, and, after three days arrived in sight of the isle of Cythera, which is surrounded by numerous and very dangerous rocks. On the 4th of May, the Princess reached Milo, an island possessing an excellent harbour; the women of this island are eminently beautiful, and still retain the costume of ancient Greece. Here the Princess remained two days and nights, but slept on board the ship, for want of accommodation in the island, and landed by day, to see the curiosities of the place.

Her Royal Highness arrived on the 8th at Athens; but the city being about four miles distant from the port, the English Consul sent horses to convey her and her suite, who set out at five o'clock in the afternoon. The house of the French consul being more commodious and better furnished, than that of the English consul, the Princess took up her residence there.

On arriving at Athens she discovered that the mule which carried two large boxes of money was missing. She applied to the Governor on the subject, and he treated her with great respect, immediately dispatching pursuers in quest, and threatening to make the drivers answerable by their lives, if the mule was not found. On the next morning, however, it was discovered, fatigued and faint, with the weight it had sustained.

On the 9th, her Royal Highness commenced the inspection of the curiosities for which this celebrated city is renowned; among which is the temple of Theseus, the hero of Athens. This is said to be the best preserved monument in the world. It consists of thirty-six columns of white marble, of the Doric order; the columns are eighteen feet in height, and ornamented with bas-reliefs of the exploits of Theseus. This temple is now converted into a church for the use of the Greeks, and is dedicated to St. George, their tutelary saint. She visited the place where the public assemblies were held, and where Demosthenes and other orators harangued. It was an extensive piece of ground where the audience were seated; above was an eminence, the ascent to which was by a flight of marble steps, still visible. There the orator spoke, and from that eminence was distinctly heard by the surrounding audience. Below this eminence are the excavations in which the Athenians presented their offerings. Above is the Areopagus, now an extensive plain; and on the hill Musée may be seen the Philapapus, a monument of marble, now reduced to a few mutilated statues and horses in bas-relief. Beyond this hill is l'Agro Corinto, and Mount Elicon. Beneath, the gloomy prisons of the Areopagus, constructed entirely of marble, are still extant. Having no doors, the entrance to them was by means of an aperture in the roof. It was in them that Socrates was condemned to drink the fatal hemlock, for having presumed to assert the unity

of the Divine Being; the Athenians tenaciously adhering to the worship of idols.

The temple of the four winds is still in good preservation. Its exterior is decorated with figures descriptive of the powers to which it is sacred. This temple is used as a mosque, in which the dervises perform their fantastic ceremonies. These mysteries are concealed from vulgar eyes; but her Royal Highness was permitted, as a special favour, to be present at their performance.

The fortress, or Acropolis, containing the statue of Icade, and the fountain of fresh water created by Neptune, when disputing with Minerva, are amongst the celebrated curiosities of this classic spot. In the grotto of Diapanne Propiles, is the temple of Minerva, the splendour of which consists in the number, height, and massiveness of its columns of white marble, of the Doric order. In addition to numerous bas-reliefs there are five statues on the front. At the fortress are the remains of the portico, consecrated to Neptune Erecteus, having five columns in front; it is now used as a powder magazine. The temple of Minerva, constructed wholly of white marble, is encircled by two rows of beautiful Doric columns. The length of the temple is one hundred and twenty-seven feet, the breadth one hundred, and the height sixty-nine. This is also used as a powder magazine.

The wall of the fortress contains a head of Socrates, said to have been originally very fine;

but so mutilated as to retain no traces of its primitive beauty. Near the ruins of the theatre of Herodotus Atticus, are those of the theatre of Bacchus, in which there was room for thirty thousand spectators. Of the temple of Jupiter Olympus, or the Pantheon, there are now only thirteen columns remaining, out of the one hundred and twenty which it originally possessed: these pillars were of beautiful marble, of the Doric order, sixty feet high and nineteen in circumference.

A fine bridge near to this temple, and which formerly crossed the Illissus, the celebrated Athenian river, is now in ruins.

Near to this spot is the stadium where the ancients celebrated the Olympic games; it is of immense extent, it is in the form of a horse-shoe. The enclosure whence the chariots issued for the race in the arena, is under the mountain. This amphitheatre accommodated one hundred and fifty thousand spectators.

On the 17th, when the Princess of Wales went to visit the ruins of an ancient temple, adjoining a Greek church, she expressed a wish to take away two very fine bas-reliefs, from the ruins. She was informed that she could not be permitted so to do without the permission of the Bishop, and that several English persons had applied to him in vain. She, however, applied to him—he immediately granted her permission, and she took them to Pesaro. In return for this mark of respect, she presented to him a watch, with which

he was greatly delighted, and invited her to his house.

The ruins of the temple of Ceres are seen at a short distance; as well as the fountain of Galiochèà, now dried up. The temples of Jupiter, and of Augustus, are in the town; that of Jupiter is converted into a Greek church.

Outside the town stand the tombs of Transiles, and of Pericles; the house of Plato, and the temple of the Furies.

The mountain from which the ancients obtained their marble is exhausted of its precious treasure. The small town of Athens presents a beautiful view from the fortress: it is situate in a rich plain, planted with olives, yielding abundance of oil. The Athenian women are not beautiful, nor is their costume becoming. They are in general tall, but not graceful; their countenance melancholy and devoid of expression; their eyes habitually cast down, so that it is difficult to discover their complexion. Her Royal Highness was much gratified with the curiosities of Athens, and made many observations in her diary and common-place book, which at once illustrated the fund of knowledge she had acquired, and the interest she felt in making this truly classical tour.

She illustrated the benevolence of her disposition, while at Athens, by releasing a considerable number of debtors who were confined in prison. Reduced almost to skeletons, the Princess no sooner heard of their misery, than she restored them to light and liberty, by paying their debts.

Her Royal Highness gave two balls to the Grecian ladies, whose manner of dancing is very insipid.

After examining every object of curiosity at Athens, the Princess quitted it on the 24th, and on the 26th arrived at Corinth. "The Bey sent a number of horses for the use of the Princess, and her suite. All his officers came, by his order, to meet her, and accompanied her to the palace, where she was received with great ceremony. A suite of apartments had, for some time, been prepared for her use, in the most commodious manner that could be expected among the Turks." On the following morning she visited the seraglio. The wives were not numerous, but were prettier, and appeared more happy and more free, than at Tunis. The Bey had married, a few years since, a country woman, to whom alone *he had, since that time attached himself*. He treated her with regard, and might, in truth, be considered an exception to the general practice of the country; being a model of constancy, where constancy was never known before. The cause might be, that his wife was very beautiful; and he appeared far more amiable than others of his nation. He paid his respects to her Royal Highness daily, and neglected nothing that could render her stay in the place as agreeable as possible. There was no object, however, particularly worthy of observation. The castle is on a very elevated situation, and permission to visit it is rarely granted to strangers. This precau-

tion induced her Royal Highness to believe that there was certainly something curious in it, which they endeavoured to conceal from every eye; her curiosity was thus roused, and she requested permission to go through it, which, to her, was instantly granted. She explored it, but found absolutely nothing more than the fortress. At the foot of the castle there were some columns remaining of a temple, which was dedicated to Neptune; and, adjoining it, is a tomb, which is said to be that of Medea, slain by herself, to punish Jason for his infidelity.

Her Royal Highness left Corinth on the 28th, and on the 29th, set sail; but the wind proving unfavourable, brought to an anchor off Cape Colonna. On a mountain above the road, are the ruins of a temple of Minerva Poliades, built of splendid white marble; there are fifteen columns remaining; her Royal Highness visited the ruins.

On the 1st of June, the weather proving more favourable, she again set sail, and arrived on the 3rd, at the island of Tenedos. The Princess visited the plain of Troy, in which there is no trace of a handsome and populous city. She twice crossed the river Scamander, which now flows silently through groves of olive trees, where the foot of the warrior never treads. At a short distance is New Troy, built by Alexander the Great, but not in any respect remarkable.

On the 5th of June, her Royal Highness passed Gallipoli, and two days after entered the port of Constantinople. This immense city forms an

imposing spectacle from the port. Constructed in the form of an amphitheatre, it is divided into three districts, Pera and Galata, inhabited by the Christians, and Constantinople by the Turks. The houses being all constructed of wood, gives occasion to great conflagrations, extending sometimes to three or four thousand houses. On the day of her arrival, her Royal Highness went to reside at the spacious palace of the British Ambassador. Her Royal Highness, her Lady of Honour, Mlle Demont, and her sister, were conveyed in a car, on two wheels, drawn by oxen, the best equipage which the country afforded; the rest of the household were on foot. The mosque of St. Sophia is said to be very splendid, but no Christian is permitted to enter it. The Sultan goes to prayer every Friday, accompanied by his guard. His palace, which is exceedingly beautiful, is surrounded by cypress trees, of which the Turks are extremely fond; every house having one before it, produces a pleasing effect in this large town.

Whilst at this place, her Royal Highness received some very handsome oriental presents from the Grand Seigneur, as demonstrations of his respect, and, in return, she presented a watch and chain, to the bearer of the presents.

The plague breaking out shortly after the arrival of her Royal Highness, rendered it necessary for her to leave the city. On the 14th, she removed to Bijudere, fifteen miles distant from Constantinople, on the Bosphorus. The canal, uniting the

Black Sea, and the Sea of Marmora, is singularly beautiful. The mountains on each side, enriched with villages and villas, and the canal with vessels laden with merchandise, compose a scene of great beauty and interest. Her Royal Highness made various excursions on the Black Sea, and in one instance breakfasted in Asia, and dined in Europe.

The grand Seignor, though not fond of seeing persons of distinguished rank in his dominions, sent rich presents to the Princess. The Turkish women are said to be beautiful; but, they never go unveiled.

On the 16th of June, the Princess quitted Bijudere in order to embark, and sailed on the 17th. The current carried her rapidly out of the Dardanelles. Passing Mitylene on the 22nd, she landed on Scio on the 23rd; a luxurious and well cultivated island, the women of which are exceedingly beautiful. On the following day, the Princess arrived at Scala Nuova, ten miles distant from the ruins of Ephesus, of which, there is not a house extant. The ruins of the celebrated temple of Diana, are still visible.

On the 25th, her Royal Highness left Scala Nuova, and passed the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus. The malignant fevers which prevail there in the month of June, prevented the Princess from landing. On the 2nd of July, she landed at St. Jean d' Acre, equally celebrated in ancient and modern history. Her Royal Highness landed, on the precise spot, where Richard

Cœur de Lion, was detained prisoner on his return from the Crusades in the Holy Land. She also visited with her suite, the fortress where Buonaparte was defeated by Sir Sidney Smith, which had been recently put into a state of defence by the English.

On the 3rd, the Princess set sail for Jaffa, distant half a day's journey. Her Royal Highness intended going from thence to Jerusalem by land; but being unprovided with passports, the Bey refused to allow more than five persons to proceed. Under these circumstances, her Royal Highness, immediately gave orders to the Captain to set sail for St. Jean d'Acre, where she arrived on the 4th. The Princess went herself to the Governor, and urged him to grant permission to all the suite to travel to Palestine. He at first started many difficulties. They were, however, gradually overcome by the sight of some rich presents exhibited to him, which operated on his avarice—a vice so powerful among his fraternity, that they cannot do other than yield to it, even at the hazard of their lives and favour. Thus, to travel among the Turks, it is not only necessary to be well provided with money, but also to be liberal in its distribution; and it is only with this metal, or with presents, that what is desired, can be obtained from them. The Governor, not wishing that the real motive which tempted him to deviate from his duty, should be known, told the Princess, through the medium of his interpreter, that as he had received great obligations from, and

felt that gratitude was due to the English, for the services rendered to the city, he was resolved, at all hazards, to grant this indulgence to their Sovereign: he was even generous in return, for he made her Royal Highness a present of five linen tents, a zetique, similar to those used in Sicily, and as many horses as were necessary for the journey; also an escort of officers of the guard, guides to conduct them, and camels to transport their baggage.

On the 6th of July, at eight o'clock in the evening, her Royal Highness commenced her pilgrimage to the Holy Land, whose suite presented the appearance of a little army—for their number exceeded two hundred. They were compelled to travel during the night, on account of the excessive heat during the day. The first night they were terrified with a view of the horrible and almost impracticable paths which they had to traverse; throughout they were choked with rocks and brakes, and were so confined, that we were every moment in danger of being thrown down: their fear, also, was not likely to be diminished by the total want of every kind of habitation. Her Royal Highness was also aware, that the desert was infested with robbers and banditti; against them perhaps, their formidable escort a little supported them; especially as the Governor, fearing the power of the Princess, to whom he gave the title of Queen of England, had taken every precaution to prevent the possibility of insult being offered to her, fearing, with justice, that if it were otherwise, he

should be the first to feel its effects. If an individual, without power, were to travel through this country, he would certainly be exposed to great danger, and probably would not quit it with life: indeed it is very rarely that Europeans are seen in the country. Many who have meditated this journey, have renounced it, on a perspective of the dangers to which they would be constantly exposed; but the Princess of Wales, discouraged by no difficulties, and surmounting all, effected what she had so long anticipated.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 8th, the party arrived at Nazareth, a small village, the houses of which are built of stone. On arriving at Nazareth, she again discovered that the mule which carried on its back all the dollars belonging to her Royal Highness, was not to be found. She however, received the intelligence with perfect composure, and immediately applied to the Governor. He instantly sent out messengers, and the beast was found in a corn field. Although her Royal Highness, in the event of its loss, would have been left without any money, she appeared not the least discomposed at the event. Having taken some repose, her Royal Highness visited the church built on the alleged site of the house of the Holy Virgin. With the exception of a few fine paintings, the gifts of individuals, it presents little to gratify the curiosity of the traveller, though with that village, the Christian must ever connect events the most astonishing and important.

On the evening of the same day, the Princess

resumed her journey, and arrived in the morning at Clon, which stands in an extensive plain. The heat was so oppressive, as to prevent sleeping under the tents. On the 10th, they arrived at Rama, where her Royal Highness slept in the convent of Capuchins. On the morning of the 11th, the party again encamped; and, in the evening, arrived at Jerusalem.

To a devout mind, there is certainly no city in the world so replete with those impressive associations of mind which go directly to the heart. To the Jew, it is the symbol of a departed glory—a monument of fallen grandeur—the memento of crimes still unexpiated; while a return to the beloved city, and its restoration to its pristine glory, is the sustaining hope of the wandering Israelite; himself a standing monument of the divine displeasure. To the sincere Christian, it stands confessed as a theatre of wonders the most impressive, of mercies the most subduing, and of transactions whose ultimate results await their accomplishment in the world of spirits. Its very fragments are vocal, its dust precious, and its name has music in the sound.

On her Royal Highness's arrival at this celebrated city, she took up her residence in a monastery of Capuchins; and, on the following day, commenced the inspection of the interesting antiquities with which the holy city abounds.

The first object which the Princess visited was the church of St. Helena; who, following her husband to the crusades, founded, it is said, five

hundred churches, and as many hospitals. The church, which is built on Mount Calvary, is truly magnificent, and enriched with paintings. On entering the church, the attention is directed to the spot where Joseph of Arimathea is reputed to have embalmed the body of our Saviour. The attention is then directed to his alleged tomb, within which are forty-four silver lamps continually burning, maintained at the expence of the different Courts of Europe, each having its peculiar mark.

Having visited the tomb, her Royal Highness touched the column to which, according to tradition, our Saviour was bound when scourged. All persons are prohibited from touching, or even seeing, these objects; but an exception was made in favour of her Royal Highness, who proceeded from thence to ascend Mount Calvary, by steps; viewed the spot where the Redeemer was supposed to have been nailed to the cross, and touched the cavity in which the cross was fixed.

With the most easy credulity and the utmost gravity, Mlle Demont, in her journal, reports a tale, which was told to her Royal Highness, respecting the mode by which the actual cross of the Saviour was distinguished from the two on which the malefactors were crucified. This notable discovery was made by St. Helena, who, piously improving the discovery, had the cross conveyed to Rome, where "it now forms the most *invaluable valuable* of that enlightened church."

On the 14th, her Royal Highness visited the

chamber in which Jesus is said to have instituted the Holy Supper, and the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. The tomb of King David, in the same house, the Turks refused, though tempted by a bribe, to allow her Royal Highness to inspect. This house is converted into a church. Close to this spot is a beautiful church, in which are shewn the sepulchres of the four Evangelists. On the Princess's return, the house of King David was pointed out to her: a lamp is continually burning in it. At some distance are the remains of the celebrated temple of Solomon, of which seven gates are yet preserved. In the interior, the Turks having erected a superb mosque, no Christian can enter, under pain of death. The Princess next repaired to the Mount of Olives. She then visited the tombs of Joseph and Mary, which are still in good preservation.

At Jerusalem, *Camera*, one of her Majesty's Italian servants, was confined to his room by a malignant fever, supposed at one time to be the plague. He was considered to be in such danger, that a Priest attended him, and the domestics feared to approach him, yet the Princess daily visited the poor sufferer, to satisfy herself that every comfort was afforded him. And when she quitted the city, to proceed to Jericho, she left him at Jerusalem, and directed her Italian Physician to stop and attend on him, till her return.

Having explored the curiosities of Jerusalem, her Royal Highness departed on the 15th for

Jericho. This journey was particularly dangerous, on account of the robbers who infest the road. The Dey furnished the Princess with an escort of 200 soldiers, the chief of whom, had but a year before, been condemned to death, as the head of a banditti. Of this circumstance her Royal Highness was ignorant at the commencement of the journey. The soldiers as well as their chief, had the air of fugitives from the galleys. Their arms were of the most extraordinary description: one had a gun, another a club, another a broken sword, and another a kind of fork. Their dress was equally miscellaneous. With such men, her Royal Highness travelled through the deserts of Palestine, on a road infested with robbers, whose dwellings were in the caves of the rocks, and where not a cottage was visible. It was on this road, however, that the Princess saw the house where Jesus is stated to have raised Lazarus from the dead, and the Potter's field, which Judas purchased with the reward of his treachery. She was also shewn the cave in which Jeremiah wrote his prophecy.

On the 16th, her Royal Highness halted on the spot where, according to tradition, John the Baptist baptized our Saviour. On the other side is the desert in which John preached.

On the following morning, before sun-rise, the Princess commenced her journey to Jericho; which lay across a desert, varied only by a few stunted plants and briars; and passed the foot of a mountain of terrific appearance, where, it is alleged, Jesus fasted forty days and nights.

Arriving at Jericho, the tents were pitched, in order to protect the travellers from the piercing rays of the sun, which, as early as six o'clock in the morning, penetrated through the linen with intolerable heat. In addition to this, the whole party were tormented with thirst, while the water procured was nearly in a state of ebullition.

The stay of her Royal Highness at Jericho was but of short duration. The whole of her suite were suffering excessively from the heat, from which no shelter could be procured. The Princess resolved, therefore to return to Jerusalem. Deeply affected by the poverty and misery of the Christians who resided there, her Royal Highness, previously to her departure, settled an annuity of £50 upon the Christian community. Her name to this day is never pronounced without a blessing.

On the 22nd, the Princess quitted Jerusalem, slept again at Rama, and on the 24th arrived at Jaffa, where the Polacca of her Royal Highness was riding at anchor, and the wind being favourable she determined immediately to sail.

It was part of her Royal Highness's plan to visit Alexandria, and to proceed from thence into Egypt; but this was rendered impracticable by the prevalence of the plague at Cairo, which was then making great ravages at that place. Being at one time only ten miles from Alexandria, her Royal Highness may be said to have made the tour of the Mediterranean.

On the 27th, the Princess passed Cyprus, for the second time. Her vessel was becalmed off

that island; and dreading the attack of pirates who generally take the advantage of the calms, her Royal Highness was anxious to leave this dangerous coast; and as the provisions began to be low, she directed her course to the island of Rhodes, which she reached the latter end of August.

On the 3rd of September, the Polacca sailed from Rhodes with a light wind; but in the evening suddenly chopping round, a tremendous gale came on, which exposed the vessel to imminent danger. On the 4th, coming in sight of Candia, the wind was so entirely contrary that the Polacca was four days in passing it. Her Royal Highness then directed the vessel to be steered towards Zante, but the wind being contrary, the course was changed to Syracuse, where the vessel arrived on the 20th. This being the first Christian city at which her Royal Highness touched on her return from Palestine, prayers were offered for her safe deliverance from the perils to which she had been exposed. She was not, indeed, aware of the imminent dangers which she had escaped until she was informed, at Syracuse, that shortly after her departure from Tunis, five armed Corsairs, escaped from the Goletta intent on the most determined piracy. The crews of these vessels were aware of the riches which her Royal Highness had on board. These corsairs were frequently seen from the deck of the polacca. Not a light was allowed to be kept even on the binnacle, and it was only by measures of the most extreme

caution that her Royal Highness escaped pillage, if not death. } 1/2  
Hm

On the arrival of the Princess at Syracuse, the whole party were obliged to perform quarantine for forty days. A small house was allotted for her Royal Highness, and a certain boundary fixed, beyond which she was not permitted to proceed.

The provisions were brought, as if by an invisible hand, and left at the limit of the boundary; they were always brought in the dead of the night. } 1/2  
Hm

On the 26th her Royal Highness again set sail. She had been informed that some Algerines were cruising off Sicily; and, consequently, she procured an Austrian frigate to convoy her. When she passed Catania, the corsairs were short of water and had gone on shore to procure it.

At length, on the 28th, the Princess entered the straits of Messina, and in the evening, cast anchor in that port. Not being allowed, however, to land without performing quarantine, her Royal Highness again made sail on the 7th, and coasting the shores of Calabria, came in sight, on the 14th, of the isle of Capri, in the Bay of Naples. Without disembarking, her Royal Highness sailed from the bay of Naples, during a most violent storm; but the wind being fair, she soon arrived at Terracina, in the Papal states. Her Royal Highness immediately applied to the Pope for permission to land, without performing quarantine. On the morning of the 15th, the answer being favourable, the Princess disembarked; having, with the ex-

ception of the quarantine at Syracuse, been on board from the 18th of July.

On her arrival at Rome, her Royal Highness was received with the distinctions due to her illustrious rank. By order of the Roman government, she was attended by personages of distinction to officiate in her household; a guard of honour was appointed to attend her, and, like other Royal personages residing at Rome, had a box assigned to her at the public ceremonies.

On the 16th, her Royal Highness introduced her suite to the Pope, at his beautiful palace, on Monte Cavallo, when her suite kissed his hand. On the evening of the 17th they departed from Rome; passed through Viterbo, Sienna, and Florence, on the Arno, and on the 21st, after having travelled through Modena, Parma, and Milan, she arrived at the VILLA D'ESTE.

Thus ended what has been emphatically called the long voyage of her Royal Highness. It was performed under singular disadvantages; but the illustrious traveller was so intent on the acquisition of knowledge, and so delighted by the scenes which were continually presented to her eyes, and which gratified her imagination, taste, and judgment, that she braved every difficulty, and suffered no obstacle to impede her progress.

The Villa D'Este, which had been altered and improved during the absence of the Princess, was now, however, no longer the abode of happiness and peace. Malice and envy had been exerted

during her absence, to invent, and then to propagate, injurious statements relative to her character : and Baron d'Ompteda, a chevalier of Hanover, and formerly ambassador from Jérôme Napoleon, King of Westphalia, to the Court of Vienna, was the instrument selected to effect objects as degrading as they were destructive. With the Baron the Princess had been acquainted. From her he had received many favors and marks of condescension, and his ingratitude, therefore, additionally disgusted her.

During the years 1815 and 1816, he had engaged himself in endeavouring to prevail on her servants to state circumstances prejudicial to her character, and either to disengage themselves from her service, or to continue with her, and obtain for him any letters, or documents, which he might be able to pervert to the purposes which he was appointed to effect. Though, however, his promises of support, advancement, and assistance, were numerous and splendid, they were insufficient to accomplish his project, and only one servant yielded to his persuasions and artifices. That servant was Maurice Crede, who, subsequently discharged from the service of her Royal Highness for bad conduct, developed in the following letter, addressed to the Chevalier Tomasia, some of the methods resorted to by d'Ompteda, for the purpose of effecting the ruin of the unsuspecting Princess of Wales.

“MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER,

“I address myself to you, Sir, to obtain the greatest of favors, for which I shall be eternally grateful. I was yesterday dismissed from the service of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, for having intrigued with her waiting-woman, Annette. This event, which has thrown me into the utmost consternation, has awakened in my heart a remorse which had agitated me for some time, and which I feel a necessity of imparting to you, in the hope that you may interest yourself for me, and get me to be received again into her Royal Highness's service.

“I must then confess that I merit my disgrace, since I suffered myself to be seduced by a certain Baron, M. d'Ompeda, to betray the best of mistresses, and the most generous of Princesses.

“It is about a year ago, or about a month before the departure of the Princess, that this Baron was to take all possible steps, through the intervention of a certain Ambrose Cesati, who came to Como, to discover the place where my mistress slept, and to endeavour to procure false keys of her apartment. I persisted for some time in refusing to have any concern in this plot; but at length the Baron's threats, who told me I was a ruined man if I did not listen to him, together with the money he offered me from time to time, corrupted me, and I was weak enough to accept the commission, although fully persuaded that there was no foundation whatever for the Baron's infamous suspicions.

"I must say, nevertheless, with the utmost sincerity, that the guilt of my conduct went no farther than the answering the questions put to me by d'Oempteda in the conferences I had with him, in which he interrogated me closely upon the situation of the different apartments in the palace, as well as concerning the persons who were about the Princess.

"This, Sir, is my confession—in making it, my heart is eased of a weight by which it was oppressed. I address myself to a man already estimable for his virtues, and who ought to feel commiseration for human weakness; whom I therefore supplicate to obtain my pardon from the Princess, and not to forsake me at the moment of my calamity.

"Have pity, Sir, upon an unfortunate man, who, knowing his fault, seeks to repair it by repentance; hoping then to be enabled, through your aid, to return to the path of honour. On you, Sir, I place my whole reliance.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

MAURICE CREDE."

*Como, Nov. 3, 1816.*

This application was not of course complied with; but her Royal Highness determined to manifest her indignation at the steps which were pursued against her. She accordingly informed the Governor, Count Sarau, of the transactions which had taken place, and he immediately ba-

nished the Baron d'Ompteda from the states of the Emperor. She also made an application to the Emperor of Austria, and wrote a letter to that Monarch, complaining of the conduct of the Baron, and of other persons who were employed as spies on her conduct. To this letter she did not receive any reply. In addition to such insult, her chamberlain was prevented by the Austrian government from wearing the cross of Malta. The enmity of Lord Stewart, who was at this time ambassador from the English government to that of Austria, in some measure, however, accounted for such conduct, especially as he was one of the principal actors in the celebrated Milan Commission, to whose proceedings it will be hereafter necessary distinctly to refer. Thus betrayed and insulted, her Royal Highness felt indignant, and her attendants participated in her feelings. Lieutenant Hownam, shocked at the Baron's baseness, challenged him to fight; but the latter, who had no inclination for fighting, by different pretences and delays, first, like a coward, laughed at the challenge, and then, fixing by turns the four quarters of the world as the place of the rencontre, contrived never to be found at any place he appointed.

The correspondence which took place between Lieutenant Hownam and the Baron has been subsequently published, but as it is comparatively unimportant, it is not here inserted.

The connection of d'Ompteda with Lord Stewart and the Milan Commission, was de-

monstrated to the Princess of Wales, and that connection would have been proved in the House of Lords by even the agents of that commission, if such evidence had not been by the House determined as improper to be received.

No language can adequately express the feelings of wretched dissatisfaction, fear, and disappointment, which her Royal Highness experienced on making such discoveries. The Villa d'Este was no longer to her an abode, where, in security, she might repose, and partake of the refined pleasures of literature and the delights of nature. An evil spirit had there dwelt, and the consequences were as permanent as they were distressing. The following extract from a letter, to a friend in England, written by the Princess at that period, will best explain her mortification and surprise :—

“ I returned to the Villa d'Este, and, after the fatigues of my journey, I sighed to repose in peace and security; but I was not permitted to be so happy. D'Ompsted, who you know was the Ambassador from Jerome Napoleon to the Court at Vienna, has employed himself, during my absence, in endeavouring to prevail on my servants to declare, that my conduct has been of the most wicked description; but I am happy to add, only one has been the dupe of his artifices, and him I have discharged for improper behaviour with Annette. Heaven only knows what the end of all this will be; but one thing consoles me, my conscious innocence. I have written myself to the Emperor of Austria, requesting his protection in

“future, against spies, who employed persons to  
 “introduce themselves into my house, and parti-  
 “cularly into my kitchen, to poison the dishes pre-  
 “pared for my table. Count Saurau, who is an  
 “able excellent man, has banished d’Ompteda from  
 “the States. One of my English gentlemen chal-  
 “lenged him to fight; but, I believe, he will not.  
 “I fear all these proceedings originate in England;  
 “indeed, I know they do; and Lord S—— has  
 “been to Milan. I have not heard some time from  
 “Charlotte. My anxiety is very great respecting  
 “her. I have not received any official notice of  
 “her marriage, and the first time I heard of it was  
 “from——. Thus you see, the Princess of  
 “Wales is still the victim of persecution.”

The Princess of Wales now determined to leave  
 the Villa d’Este, though she quitted it with painful  
 recollections of hours of peace, if not of happiness  
 departed. She hastened to Lugano, and there re-  
 solved on visiting the surrounding country. Her  
 stay at Lugano was but short; and she tra-  
 velled to various places, making that, however,  
 the centre of her movements. About this time  
 she purchased an estate in the vicinity of Milan,  
 which she afterwards presented to Pergami, as  
 a reward for his fidelity and bravery. This was  
 called the Barona, or Villa Pergami; and which  
 conduct was subsequently deprecated, and made  
 the basis for imputations, affecting not only her  
 prudence, but her chastity.

Her Royal Highness made this place her resi-  
 dence for some time, during which various enter-

tainments were given, and one in particular, in the style of a carnival, to which persons of all distinctions were invited. It was, however, afterwards alleged against her Royal Highness, that persons not corresponding to her station and rank, who knew properly how to maintain their dignity, or who would feel themselves honoured by her patronage, were in the constant habit of resorting to her house; but the inaccuracy of such charge has been demonstrated by the list of distinguished personages who then visited her.

After a short residence at the Barona, the Princess determined, in the spring of 1817, on visiting her relatives, the Margravine of Baden and the Margravine of Baruthe. Her journey into Germany, afforded her much pleasure, and the reception she met with was delightful and refreshing to her mind and heart.

Germany was a country to which she was much attached; it was the land of her birth, the field of her father's valour, and the former seat of his government. She entered it with pleasure, and quitted it with regret. There friendship had often soothed her, literature delighted her, and there "young love" first taught her to be happy, and, alas! also first taught her to sigh.

At Carlsruhe, she was received with all the distinction due to her rank. A Chamberlain was appointed to attend her, and the Grand Chamberlain of the Court received her whenever she alighted from her carriage. She

passed the greater part of her time at Court, or in visiting the family of the Grand Duke. She usually dined at the Court, or at the Margravine's, the Grand Duke's mother; and she generally supped at the Grand Duke's. Parties were always invited to meet her Royal Highness, and, during the whole of her stay, the most flattering distinctions were paid her.

After residing some time at Carlsruhe, she resolved on visiting Vienna, and on returning through the Tyrol to Italy. In consequence of the snow, her Royal Highness was obliged to travel on sledges; and, on her arrival at the barrier town between Austria and the Tyrol, the person at the gate would not take her word, that she actually was the Princess of Wales, and she was obliged to send Pergami back to Inspruck for the passports. He did not return until early the next morning, and, during his absence, she had taken up her residence at a small inn in the town of Charante. It was here that another of those circumstances was afterwards represented to have taken place, which were invented for the purpose of fixing an indelible disgrace upon her Royal Highness, because, if true, it would have proved the existence of an adulterous intercourse between her and Pergami; but it was satisfactorily explained.

When the Princess of Wales determined on passing through Vienna, she wrote to Lord Stewart, informing him of her intention, and intimating her wish to take possession of his house

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during her stay. This notification was neither singular nor improper, because it is usual for foreign Ambassadors so to receive any member of the Royal Family of a nation they so represent.

On her arrival at Vienna, she demanded satisfaction from the Austrian Government for the insult which she had received in Lombardy; but she soon found herself exposed to a treatment, of which she could not possibly form any conception, and which was actually derogatory from the character of the individuals who were the principal agents in it. On her arrival at Vienna, it was immediately notified to the Emperor by the English Ambassador; but Lord Stewart, notwithstanding the letter he had received, refused her his house, left the town, and retired into the country during her stay at Vienna.

The Emperor of Austria also displayed conduct alike unkind and improper. He refused to meet her, or to accept or return her visits, without alleging any reasons for refusal. Subsequently to this period, the Princess of Wales also received from Lord Stewart a letter, which, as a gentleman and a public officer, he should not have written to a lady and a Princess. When her Royal Highness quitted the Court of the Grand Duke of Baden, he offered her the use of his Palace at Rastadt, and she left with the intention of there returning to reside; but she afterwards received information from the Court, that, for some political reasons, it would be far better for her not to return. This notification was, however,

couched in the most respectful terms, and, therefore, did not excite her displeasure. Leaving Vienna, she proceeded to Trieste, where she remained for a short time, and then returned to Italy. At Trieste she was received with every demonstration of respect; and, indeed, wherever interest was not directly or indirectly exerted, to prevent the manifestation of homage and attention from the continental powers, she was received with those sentiments and proofs of regard to which she was entitled.

She first visited the Barona, and thence proceeded to the Villa d'Este. There she arrived in the month of April, 1817, and determined on immediately disposing of the Villa, and retiring to the Roman States, until her return to the shores of Britain. That return she knew could not be far distant, and she often determined on visiting England, and on braving the dangers to which it might expose her. Circumstances, however, from time to time, transpired, which prevented her from carrying her project into execution, until at length she fixed her residence, for a short time, at the Villa Branti or Brandi; but afterwards removed in August to Pesaro, where she dwelt, more or less frequently, until she quitted Italy.

During these various removals, the Princess was perpetually surrounded by spies on her conduct, who distorted occurrences, in themselves neither singular nor improper, and then made deductions, injurious to the character and happiness of the Princess. During her residence at Pesaro,

she was eminently retired in her habits, and devoted her time and property to works of charity and deeds of benevolence, or to the encouragement or attainment of general literature. At Pesaro, however, she occasionally attended at the festas and conversazioni which were given by the nobility, and sometimes invited them to her entertainments. To the society of the Marquis Antaldo Antaldi, his wife, and family, the Professor Rasori, the Count and Countess Perticara, the Marchioness Mosca, Count Cassi, Count Belluzzi, and the Countess Macchirelli, she was partial, and they delighted in her society, and frequently visited her Court. The Cardinal Albani, the Marchioness Mosca Pussionej, and many other persons of distinction, also visited her, and in fine, she was surrounded by all the respectable and intelligent inhabitants of the vicinity. These have subsequently testified to the excellence of her deportment, the consistency of her conduct, the amiability of her behaviour, her charity, and liberality, and Appendix No. II. is replete with documents, which demonstrate that at least at this period of her history, she was circumspect, reserved, and dignified.

During her residence at Pesaro, she received two letters from the Princess Charlotte, one written soon after her marriage, accompanied by a few lines from Prince Leopold, and an engraving of himself and the Princess Charlotte.—The Princess of Wales, constantly wore a pair of gold bracelets, presented to her by her daughter before

she quitted England, and frequently expressed her wish that they might be buried with her. She never took them off, and after her death, her wishes were respected, and in them she was accordingly interred.

In the Roman States, the Princess of Wales was received with great civility, and for some time the Government extended to her its protection. M. d' Ompteda was ordered to depart, and whenever she communicated any facts relative to the efforts of those who were literally employed as spies on her conduct, she obtained their removal from the suburbs of her residence. "But," said the Princess of Wales when Queen of England, "from the moment I became Queen of England, all civility ceased. Cardinal Con-salvi, has been much influenced since that period, by the Baron de Ryden. He has taken an oath never to acknowledge me as Queen of England.—A guard has been refused me as Queen, which was granted me as Princess of Wales, and a passport made out to me in the character of Princess of Wales, under the pretence that they have had no communication from the British Government announcing me as Queen."

At the villa Caprile, the Princess, however, enjoyed many hours of happiness, and many delights of a social and intellectual character, although they were always associated with the recollection, that every action was noticed either by those who immediately, or less nearly sur-

ounded her, and under the consequent feeling that they might become the subject of future investigation. To say that the Princess of Wales was wholly ignorant of the plans which were concerting to effect her future misery, not to say her destruction, would be untrue: and the publication of a small pamphlet in England at this period, communicating some of the facts demonstrated her knowledge of some at least of the most important facts.

That pamphlet was badly written, and excited comparatively little attention, especially as the names of the individuals therein mentioned, were not accurately spelt, yet its publication at that time is important, as it tends to prove the accuracy of many of the charges, subsequently brought by the Princess, against d' Ompteda and the other spies by whom she was surrounded, and especially as it conveys her knowledge of the fact at this period of her life.

The year 1817, at length drew to a close, and brought with it to the Princess of Wales, the melancholy intelligence of the death of her daughter. On the 6th of November, 1817; *she* departed, who was the idol of the English nation, the hope of the present generation, and the bond of union between the people and the Crown. The event yet excites the tear of regret, the sigh of sympathy, and the exclamation of surprize and astonishment; and her virtues are embalmed in the memories and hearts of a wide spread population.

Mr. Dyke, a King's Messenger, was dispatched to Italy, to convey the intelligence to the Princess, and to Lieutenant Hownam was communicated the lamentable fact, that he might acquaint her Royal Highness. The situation of the Princess Charlotte was known to her mother, and her anxiety had been for some time intense. For the melancholy bereavement, she was not, however, at all prepared, and losing all her wonted fortitude and magnanimity, she resigned herself to solitude and sorrow. Her health consequently became much impaired, and for a long time a Physician was in constant attendance upon her. In her garden, at Pesaro, she raised a cenotaph to the memory of her beloved child; and employed M. Treutanove, as her Sculptor. It was plain and neat, but was the last tribute of devoted attachment, which as a mother she could manifest: and by its side she was not unfrequently seen to shed the tears of regret and anguish. From her daughter, she had received three letters during her residence on the Continent—they were long and affectionate—she preserved them till her last illness, when they were destroyed, with other papers, by her direction. That she did not write more frequently, was to her mother, a subject of regret, though not of surprise, since she knew the difficulty which she experienced, in safely transmitting her letters to her; and those which were received, demonstrated the unabated affection of the daughter, and her determination, during life, as much as possible to protect her mother from

every attempt to disturb her happiness, or to injure her reputation.

Deprived by death, in 1806, of her illustrious and beloved father:--afterwards of a mother whose virtues and affectionate solicitude for her daughter's welfare, were by her highly valued and esteemed; in 1815, of her noble and distinguished brother, Frederick William, who was killed at the head of his brave Brunswick Cavalry at Quatre Bras, on the 16th of June, while acting with the British army, under the command of the Duke of Wellington; and finally, in 1817, of a daughter, who appeared destined to be her protector, and future deliverer—she was without a relative to whom she could entrust her feelings, or seek for protection and advice. Her venerable uncle George III. was unhappily deprived of reason, and without a protector, she was exposed to all the perils of a secret Commission of enemies, delegated to watch her movements, to suborn her servants, to traduce her character, and to render her yet more wretched and forlorn. Nor are these statements overdrawn, or at all exaggerated, but on the contrary the evils with which she had to contend, were daily more formidable in number and in character.

The communications of d' Ompteda and his agents, were transmitted to Vienna, and from thence to England. In some of the public journals of England, were occasionally inserted paragraphs respecting her alleged improper conduct, and the necessity for enquiry was frequently

stated. Her friends in England communicated to her the substance of such accusations, and several of her letters are extant, in which she predicted the attempts which might be made by means of discharged servants, dishonest couriers, or bribed and even pensioned individuals, to invent and establish charges which might affect her happiness, her honour, and her future prospects. Little, however, did she imagine that any person could be found so unprincipled as to invent some of the charges to which they afterwards deposed before the Milan Commission, and finally before one of the first tribunals in the world.—Against such inventions she could not, therefore, prepare herself, nor indeed did she expect a formal trial, though she determined that the calumnies which were now propagating against her should not remain unnoticed.

The remains of the Princess Charlotte had been scarcely deposited in the cold vault, before the secret operations which had been for a long time proceeding against her Royal Highness, began to be displayed, and a commission was formally appointed, to examine into the reports which d'Ompteda had transmitted.

Rumours were now circulated in this country, that the conduct of her Royal Highness was at variance with that dignity and propriety which ought to distinguish that of the future Queen of these realms: and even the necessity for a COMMISSION of Inquiry frequently adverted to, and then its appointment vindicated.

MR. LEACH, a Chancery Barrister of some eminence, and who has been subsequently raised to the elevated situation of Vice Chancellor; MR. COOKE, also a Barrister, and a writer of great eminence on the subject of Bankruptcy; MR. POWELL, a gentleman of private fortune and connected with the Court; a COLONEL BROWN, the impropriety of whose conduct met with general disapprobation; and LORD STEWART, who had repeatedly vilified the character of the Princess, and had even personally insulted her, were selected as the individuals proper to conduct an inquiry into the character and conduct of her Royal Highness, during her residence on the Continent. To Milan they repaired. A person of the name of VIMERCATI was selected as the Italian Agent. Colonel Brown was stationed to assist him. Salaries were of course attached to their respective offices, and each individual had his post assigned to him.—To VIMERCATI was indeed assigned a great part of the management of this affair, and the nature of his conduct and proceedings are recorded in the documents contained in Appendix II. Their perusal will excite mingled feelings of surprise and horror.

By this Commission witnesses were first obtained, then examined and re-examined;—exorbitant prices were offered to them for their testimony, and threats were employed to those who shewed, or pretended to shew, any dislike subsequently to appear to verify their statements. RASTELLI, afterwards a witness, was employed as

Courier and recruiting sergeant, and to him was delegated the all-powerful argument of a long purse. His proceedings are also recorded in the Appendix, and cannot fail of inspiring indignation and disgust. DEMONT, while in the hands of this Commission, carried on a correspondence with her sister (who was still in the Queen's service) through the medium of Baron d'Ompteda, for the purpose of obtaining information from her Majesty's servants. And Omati was paid by some one for stealing papers, for the use of the Commission, from his master, who was her Majesty's professional agent at Milan. These are facts proved by witnesses whose characters are irreproachable, and whose evidence is as well written as parol.

The various parts which were taken by the principals in the Commission, have not yet indeed been distinctly investigated, but the acts of all the inferior agents were developed in the House of Lords, or are noticed in the Appendix to this work. The unconstitutional, illegal, and improper character of such a Commission it is impossible to express in terms too forcible, or, indeed, sufficiently to deprecate and loathe. Partaking of the nature of the Court of Star Chamber, and all the horrors of the Inquisition, it was first unhappily introduced in the nineteenth century, by the government of a nation, distinguished for fertility of soil, for civilization, trade, and manufactures; for mental and religious elevation, and for all that can give real dignity to the human mind. But, happily, it is but an anomaly and

the *universal* detestation in which its nature and operations have been, and continue to be held, are the best securities to the nation against its future adoption.

It was indeed generally expected that an enquiry into the proceedings of this Commission, would have succeeded her Majesty's subsequent trial before the House of Lords, but such investigation did not take place, and several of the members of the Commission were contented silently to resume their several stations in society, though charged on oath with practices which, if true, were as improper, and even wicked, as malice could devise, and ingenuity, prompted by revenge, could accomplish.

These observations, though strong, express the sentiments of the whole English nation, and are so couched, not from any party or improper feeling, but from an abhorrence of any system of legislation unrecognized by the Constitution, and legally and morally incorrect.

During the early part of the year 1818, the Princess of Wales was much indisposed. Her habits were proportionately retired, and her pursuits consisted chiefly in reading and meditation. She desired to return to England, and communicated her wishes to her friends in this country. In one letter to an English lady of title, she thus wrote.

“England I now sigh to visit. Over the tomb  
 “of my dear Charlotte I long to weep, and again  
 “to partake of the pleasure of the society of some

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“ of my sincere friends. I have been perpetually  
 “ exposed to annoyance for these last two years by  
 “ d’ Ompteda, and his emissaries, and now other  
 “ spies have lately arrived at Milan.

“ The object of my enemies appears to be to  
 “ destroy all my happiness, and thus accelerate my  
 “ death. I am determined to come to England,  
 “ and face all my accusers.”

The year 1818 was distinguished by the exertions of the Milan Commission. The Princess was surrounded by enemies secret or avowed, and it was only at the desire of Mr. Brougham and some other friends, that she was induced to remain on the Continent. It was to her a year of anxiety and trouble; but she lived in retirement, and endeavoured to fortify her mind against the troubles which she apprehended, and the difficulties which she felt persuaded she would have to surmount on the death of King George the Third.

In England, she continued occasionally to be the subject of conversation, and very frequently of slander. Some newspapers represented that she would never return to this country, and others, that her conduct was improper and immoral.

During the spring and summer of the year 1819, she made a few tours and journies, which tended to improve her health and enliven her spirits, but her impatience to return to England was intense. To Mr. Brougham and other distinguished individuals she continued to express

her wishes, and she was therefore surprised and disgusted at some representations publicly made in England, of her intention not to re-visit it. That surprise was expressed in the following letter, written by a gentleman, in the suite of her Royal Highness, to a friend of the Princess's in England, in reply to such statements.

Sir,

“ Having read in an English newspaper, a paragraph which is without any foundation, and foul of truth, I trust, Sir, as you are a great philanthropist of mankind, let also the answer be put into any uncorrupted English newspaper. There is much reason to believe that the Princess of Wales returns to England, and she with her usual high spirit of independence, will herself ask for a trial, at *Westminster Hall*, when she herself will make her own defence, as her honour is once more attacked by false traducers and spies, and by servants sent from her service and palace for their bad conduct; which servants have been bought up at very high prices, to traduce their former benefactress by false evidence; we are also authorised to announce, that all her debts in Italy have been paid, and those in England will be now paid in a very short period. The people of England should remember, that the Princess of Wales, is the only one of the Royal Family, who has never asked for an augmentation of income, when five years ago the noble and generous vote in Parliament, of £50,000 sterling per

annum, she only accepted £35,000 sterling; she would not on any consideration be a burden to the nation, which has been her only protection; she is now coming to demand the same protection and justice of that noble nation against her enemies.

JOSEPHE MARACO."

The health of George III. now gradually declined, and Mr. Brougham, became therefore naturally anxious to converse with her Royal Highness, and determine as to those arrangements, which it would be necessary to make in case of his demise. A visit to Italy was by him neither desired nor convenient, and Lyons, was accordingly selected as the place of rendezvous. During her journey to Lyons, the Court of *Turin* manifested conduct towards her so improper and unjustifiable, that she was much affected. When she left Pesaro, she travelled incog: under the name of the Countess Oldi, and on reaching the confines of the Austrian territory, she proceeded to the first small town, belonging to the King of Sardinia, with an intention of proceeding through Turin at night, and only staying to change horses. Here however, she received peremptory orders not to go through the town, but to proceed by a very circuitous route, which obliged her to travel almost the whole night in very dangerous roads, and prevented her from reaching a post town until five in the morning, whilst if allowed to proceed through Turin, she would have arrived

by ten o'clock the preceding night. After a long journey, and with a state of health ill calculated to undergo its fatigues, she arrived at Lyons. To the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to the Prefect of Lyons she communicated letters informing them of her determination, but they treated such communications with silent contempt. At LYONS she continued for some time to reside; but Mr. Brougham was prevented from visiting her; the air did not agree with her health, and she, therefore, quitted for Marseilles.

From that place she wrote the following letter to a friend in England.

*" Marseilles, 26th December, 1819.*

" My dear ———,

" During the five years of my long absence  
 " from my dear Old England, I can assure you  
 " it has been the first real happy moment I have  
 " felt, having received such a satisfactory letter  
 " from you; and being also informed through  
 " your channel of the real feelings of the People  
 " of England. It has been the most gratifying  
 " communication to my mind, and I trust to Heaven,  
 " I shall ever deserve the good opinion they  
 " have formed of me. Certainly you must have  
 " been informed, from the general rumour, that  
 " my traducers and enemies in England have again  
 " held secret inquisitions at Milan, through the  
 " means of foul spies, who have bribed many old  
 " servants which have been sent from the house for  
 " bad conduct; a Mr. Cooke, a Mr. Powell, and a

“ Colonel Brown, and Lord Stewart the Mi-  
 “ nister at Vienna, have been making all sorts of  
 “ inquiries into my private conduct. Mr. Brou-  
 “ gham has been informed of it since last April.  
 “ I should have been a long time in London e’er  
 “ this period, if Mr. Brougham had not advised  
 “ me otherwise, to remain for the present abroad,  
 “ as he wished first to have a meeting with me  
 “ before I would undertake my voyage to England;  
 “ he also, did not wish to meet me in Italy. I,  
 “ for very particular reasons, could not go to  
 “ Paris, on account of THAT COURT, and was  
 “ obliged to fix Lyons as the first place of meet-  
 “ ing nearest Italy. After having waited anxi-  
 “ ously for some weeks, the air of Lyons being  
 “ too cold for my health, I took the resolution of  
 “ fixing my winter residence at Marseilles, where  
 “ I have now been two months.

“ I expected Mr. Brougham, if Parliament had  
 “ adjourned, as usual, for the Christmas holidays;  
 “ but now, Heaven only knows when he will be  
 “ able to meet me. I have been much alarmed  
 “ about a rumour, relating to our ever-beloved  
 “ and lamented King’s health; if that case should  
 “ happen, I put my only trust in your kindness  
 “ and the generosity of the great nation, to pro-  
 “ tect me from the hands of my enemies. \* \* \* \*  
 “ \* \* \* \* \*

“ I have the honour to remain,

“ Your most sincere Friend,

“ CAROLINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.”

The Princess now determined to winter at Marseilles, and to enjoy repose and quietness until her return to England. In the spring, however, she resolved on proceeding to Paris, there to await the arrival of Mr. Brougham, and to receive his instructions as to the conduct she should adopt. Her determination she accordingly notified, but it met with a singular reception; from a Court at which she ought to have experienced the most exemplary attention. The following extract from a letter, written by her Royal Highness on the subject, will best explain that conduct.

*Marseilles, 6th January, 1820.*

“ I would not have taken up my pen so soon  
 “ to trouble you again, had I not received this  
 “ morning, a letter from Paris, from my old friend  
 “ ——— in which she communicates to me, that  
 “ she had a conversation with the English Amba-  
 “ sador, who mentioned the impossibility of his  
 “ paying due respect towards me, and assured her  
 “ also, that the Government of Paris he feared,  
 “ would make my residence in that capital far from  
 “ agreeable, and said she could not *advise* my going  
 “ to Paris, under such circumstances. I never had  
 “ any great wish to go to Paris; Mr. Brougham  
 “ was so anxious to have a conversation with me,  
 “ that he was the sole object of my travelling into  
 “ France; Mr. Brougham has not yet been able to  
 “ fulfil his promises to meet me. I am so uncom-  
 “ fortable here, with such a Government, that I

“ intend to leave Marseilles by the 20th January,  
 “ to return to Italy, that in case my presence should  
 “ be necessary in London, I would go by sea, and  
 “ not expose myself to a bad reception from the  
 “ Bourbons. The present King of France, when he  
 “ was in a distressed situation, was well received  
 “ by my late father’s Court, at Brunswick, a palace  
 “ and every comfort was offered to him; but such  
 “ great personages have the talent to forget when  
 “ they have received civilities in a strange country:  
 “ I think the daughter should at least have been  
 “ received kindly, without pomp and parade, but  
 “ in a friendly way, that is all I should have ex-  
 “ pected, as I travel incog: If you will be  
 “ so kind as to write to me after the 20th of this  
 “ month, you can enclose a letter to Mr. Tor-  
 “ lonia, at Rome, who is my banker. I should  
 “ be very happy indeed to have the comfort to  
 “ hear from a worthy friend, that he still pro-  
 “ tects me.

“ I am, with high regard,

“ Your most sincere friend,

“ CAROLINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.”

The long expected death of the friend, uncle,  
 and father of the Princess of Wales, at length  
 occurred, and on the 29th January, 1820, he ex-  
 pired. The attachment of her Royal Highness  
 to his Majesty, has been often referred to, and  
 though long virtually dead, yet he was the  
 acknowledged Sovereign of this country, and  
 during his life, active measures or enactments

against her Royal Highness, were judged to be unnecessary.

On his demise, the Princess of Wales became by marriage, the Queen Consort of England, and she was accordingly invested with all the rights and privileges attached to that exalted station. But whether she would ever have claimed them, or whether she would have renounced that mode of life, to which she had so long accustomed herself, appears to be uncertain; and had it not been for indignities and affronts, which she conceived were offered to her, and to which she could not conscientiously submit, without compromising her dignity as Queen of one of the first kingdoms of the world, and her character as a female, it is perhaps probable, that she would have remained in a state of comparative obscurity, nor have again entered into the presence of those individuals, by whom she conceived herself to be so openly insulted and degraded.

But at the death of George III. measures inimical to her peace, were immediately adopted, with vigour and promptitude, and a longer residence on the Continent was impossible.

On the 20th of January, her Royal Highness left Marseilles, and proceeded to Rome. In that city, however, she was now treated with every species of indignity, and it was no sooner known that she was Queen Consort of England, than her Guard of Honour was withdrawn, because the British Government had not acknowledged her under that title. Her Majesty remonstrated

against that measure, and in the following letter, requested to be supplied with a suitable guard.

*Rome, February 23, 1820:*

“ To Cardinal Consalvi,

“ Your Eminence, will not be surprised nor  
 “ offended, when I require of you two sentinels  
 “ before the door of the palace I now occupy here,  
 “ having always had a guard during my frequent  
 “ residence at this capital, as well as in all other  
 “ places. I desire from the Secretary of State,  
 “ a categorical answer, why the honours due to  
 “ my birth, are not rendered to me. I will not  
 “ now enter upon the subject of the political  
 “ views which may influence your Eminence,  
 “ relative to the new title I have acquired by the  
 “ will of the Almighty, and the acclamation of  
 “ the noble and generous people of England; I  
 “ shall always endeavour to merit their good  
 “ opinion, and to sustain my own dignity, not  
 “ allowing myself to be vilified under false  
 “ pretences.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ CAROLINE R.”

To the request of that letter, the Cardinal Secretary of State, however, refused to comply, and on the next day, addressed to her Royal Highness the following reply.

“ *Rome, February 24, 1820.*

“The Cardinal Secretary of State received yesterday evening the request, to cause a guard to be placed at the door of the mentioned palace, and likewise has made known to him, that a categorical answer was expected upon this subject. The observations which the above said Cardinal made yesterday morning, verbally, when you, by orders you had received, called at his apartments, not having permitted him to answer directly to the royal personage who did him the honour to write to him, is under the necessity of requesting you to lay before the same the following :

“ His Holiness’s government cannot grant the guard to my lady the Countess Oldi. (The Princess of Wales.) No guard is given to private persons ; and when even Royal princes travel *incognito*, under a private name, they do not receive this distinction. There is actually at Rome no instance of this. The Papal government did not fail in paying this honour to the Princess of Wales during her stay in this capital on a former occasion. The Royal person, however, who has now come to Rome, is not announced as the Princess of Wales, but as the Queen of England, and for this the guard is requested. But as no communication has been made to his Holiness’s government by the government of his Majesty, the King of England and Hanover, upon the change that has taken place, nor upon the rank of the said Royal person, the Papal government does not

know that the Queen of England is in Rome, and in consequence cannot grant a guard to the same. Whenever the government of his Holiness may receive from that of his Majesty the King of England and Hanover, the usual notification upon the change that has taken place with the Royal person in question, he will consider it an imperious duty to pay to the Queen of England all the honours due to her.

(Signed) "C. CARDINAL CONSALVI."

A few days after the death of George the third, Mr. Brougham dispatched Mr. Sicard with the intelligence to her Royal Highness, and with directions as to the conduct it would be proper for her to manifest. Public anxiety as to the nature of such advice, and the conduct she would adopt, now began to be displayed, and the daily journals, according to their political character, vied with each other in lauding her character and pitying her situation, or in reproaching her for the conduct she was alleged to have displayed.

At Leghorn her Majesty met with Mr. Sicard, and received from him the intelligence with which he was entrusted. The death of George III. much affected her. She was sensible that she was now deprived of every friend in the Royal Family of Great Britain, and she did not doubt, but that unless she acceded to the propositions of those who were inimical to her, she would again become the subject of secret enquiries, and private or even public persecution. On the receipt of such

information, she wrote to Mr. Brougham—stated her intentions of returning to England—of resisting the efforts of her enemies—and, of braving the impending storm ; and directed him to endeavour to obtain for her the palace of the late Queen, in the Green Park. From Leghorn she proceeded to Rome, and in a letter to a friend, from that place, she thus communicated her determinations :—

“ *Rome, 23d February, 1820.*

“ My dear ———,

“ You cannot conceive how astonished I have  
 “ been on my arrival at Leghorn to meet Mr. Si-  
 “ card, one of my own faithful servants ; he  
 “ had been sent by my Solicitor-General, Mr. *all*  
 “ Brougham, with the melancholy account of the  
 “ demise of our ever-beloved King George III.  
 “ He has desired my going to Brussels or Calais,  
 “ to wait at a moment’s warning, to come to dear  
 “ Old England ; but having just finished a very  
 “ long and tedious journey by sea, and by land  
 “ on horseback, to reach Leghorn, I assured him  
 “ I would only repose for a short time, to go by  
 “ sea, in an English frigate, direct to London.  
 “ The reception I have experienced in France  
 “ was so impertinent, I could never submit to it  
 “ a second time ; besides, my usual quarter not  
 “ being yet paid, on account of my leaving Mar-  
 “ seilles on the 20th of January, I was absolutely  
 “ obliged to go first to Rome to meet Mr. Torlo-  
 “ nia, my banker, who usually receives my letter

“ of credit, from Coutts’s house, in London ; all  
 “ these reasons together, have prevented my com-  
 “ plying immediately with Mr. Brougham’s plan.  
 “ I have, nevertheless, assured him, that any fri-  
 “ gate or merchant-ship, from England, would be  
 “ quite sufficient for me to come over directly to  
 “ Old England ; where, I trust, I shall evermore  
 “ find my friends my protectors. I write in  
 “ great haste, and can only add, that I never  
 “ knew you had been through Italy during my  
 “ residence there, nor received any letters from  
 “ you. I hope to see you soon. Pray write as  
 “ often as you can, and direct your letters to Mr.  
 “ Torlonia, Rome ; they will reach me safe.  
 “ Heaven will grant your good wishes to me, and  
 “ you will make me for ever a very grateful heart  
 “ towards you.

“ CAROLINE R.”

“ I have given orders to Mr. Brougham, that  
 “ I wish to reside at the late Queen’s Palace, in  
 “ the Green Park, without any alterations, and  
 “ expense to the nation.”

From Rome, her Majesty determined, in March,  
 to proceed to Pesaro, there to arrange several  
 private affairs, prior to her intended journey to  
 England.—Notwithstanding the death of George #  
 Third, and the indisputable title of her Majesty  
 to the honour and dignity of Queen Consort of  
 these realms, she received no intimation, of the  
 death of the former, and no invitation to return to  
 a land, where she was beloved by the majority of

its population. At such conduct she was somewhat surprized, and her astonishment she expressed in the following letter to a friend in England.

*Rome, March 2, 1820.*

“ MY DEAR ———,

“ You must be as surprized as I am, that I have  
 “ not yet received from Government a regular Mes-  
 “ senger, to announce the death of our good and  
 “ very estimable old King; nor from any of the  
 “ Family. I have received private information of  
 “ this event.—The Cardinal Consalvi has at last  
 “ taken off his mask and has proved to be a crea-  
 “ ture also from the throne of George the IV. The  
 “ French Ambassador, Comte Blacas, who has  
 “ great influence, as well as Mortimer de R——,  
 “ the Hanoverian Minister, have both persuaded  
 “ the Cardinal not to notice me here as *Queen*.  
 “ If I were not obliged to stay here to settle  
 “ finally all my accounts with my Banker Torl-  
 “ noia, I should set out immediately for Pesaro,  
 “ and after that, directly to dear Old England.  
 “ When few English persons have called upon me,  
 “ I see, too well, the spirit of independence, and  
 “ of true chivalrous feeling towards ladies in dis-  
 “ tress no longer exists in the world. Last Sun-  
 “ day I had English Rogers at my Palace, and  
 “ the sister-in-law of Lord Rosslyn, Mrs. Erskine,  
 “ who lives, by chance, in the same Palace with  
 “ me, and attended me on that occasion. I trust  
 “ the nation will oblige the Ministers of George  
 “ the IV. to command all the Foreign Courts to,

“ receive me with due regard to my rank. Lord  
 “ Stewart, at Vienna, should be well reprimanded;  
 “ and the French Court, of that noble family of  
 “ the Bourbons. The only comfort I have had for  
 “ a long time, was the receiving all your letters,  
 “ and the parts of the English newspapers which  
 “ are most interesting to me. I could write a  
 “ volume to you, but the post is going out. I  
 “ shall fly to England.

“ Yours, CAROLINE R.”

Soon after the death of George III, King George IV. in Council, determined to alter the Liturgy of the Church of England, by omitting the name of her Majesty, as Princess of Wales, and on not substituting her name as Queen Consort. Her name had been originally introduced at the desire of her deceased uncle; and its total omission now gave great offence to the friends of the church, of the Queen, and of peace and harmony. On the propriety of such a measure, some observations will be hereafter made, and here, therefore, it is only recorded as an historical fact, which gave great offence also to her Majesty.

From a friend on the Continent, she learnt some particulars relative to the conduct of a few clergymen in omitting to pray for her, and which she severely reprehended in several letters. In one she thus wrote.

*"Rome, 6th March, 1820.*

"MY DEAR ———,

"I must trouble you once more to communicate  
 "to you, that——, a young Clergyman in Rome,  
 "who reads the prayers every Sunday to all the  
 "English here, read the Sunday after the demise  
 "of the late King, the usual prayers for George  
 "IV, and also for Caroline, Queen of England.  
 "He comes also every Sunday to my Palace, to  
 "read prayers to me. More independence than  
 "in London!! I hear that at Westminster Abbey  
 "the usual prayer for the Queen was absolutely  
 "omitted; all the Royal Family, but her, were  
 "named. I must suppose these were false infor-  
 "mants. Of my desires, you may tell the world  
 "that the Queen is well, and alive to all these in-  
 "sults. A certain Mr. ———, and ——— are the  
 "persons mentioned as having committed such  
 "gross neglect; and the Queen will certainly  
 "come to England, even if the people are not  
 "allowed to say the usual prayers for her.

"Think of this my dear good friend.

"CAROLINE R."

Her Majesty now became more anxious to return to England. Her distance from the country, of which she was Queen, was oppressive to her spirits, and the period which elapsed between the occurrence of events, and her reception of the Journals which announced them, rendered such absence almost insupportable. In addition to that absence, she had to endure the insults of

the Hanoverian Minister, and the exclusion of her name from the Liturgy; and as to which, she felt most acutely; and on the 16th March, she therefore addressed to Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh, the following letters, and transmitted them through the medium of Mr. Hieronymus, who was also the bearer of other important dispatches. Those letters, though dignified and authoritative, indicate the agitation of her mind, and the vexation which various circumstances had occasioned her.

*Rome, 16th March, 1820.*

“ The Queen communicates to Lord Castle-  
 “ reagh, as one of the King’s Ministers, that she  
 “ is desirous that Lord C. should correctly act,  
 “ after his declaration in the House of Commons,  
 “ on the 22nd of February, in answer to Mr.  
 “ Brougham, the Queen’s Attorney General, that  
 “ the Queen would not be harassed, nor treated  
 “ with inattention by the servants of the King of  
 “ England; for which reason, as a first proof of  
 “ Lord C’s. sincerity and loyalty, he should com-  
 “ mand, by a general order, that all the English  
 “ Ministers or Consuls, and even the Hanoverian  
 “ Minister, at Milan, Mr. Ryden, should pay  
 “ all due respect to the Queen, and especially  
 “ that Mr. Ryden should no longer use improper  
 “ language against the Queen, nor call her simply  
 “ Caroline of Brunswick; which he did in a large  
 “ company at Rome, and many English persons  
 “ were witnesses to it. It is a great impertinence

“ towards the King, to allow any subject to  
 “ behave with insolence towards the King’s  
 “ Consort. The Queen trusts Lord Castlereagh  
 “ will send a satisfactory answer to her.

“ CAROLINE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.”

*To Viscount Castlereagh.*

*Rome, 16th March, 1820.*

“ The Queen wishes to be informed, through  
 “ the medium of Lord Liverpool, first Minister  
 “ to the King of England, for what reason or  
 “ motive the Queen’s name has been left out of  
 “ the general prayers, and the people prevented  
 “ paying the respect due to their Queen. It is  
 “ also a great omission towards the King, that  
 “ his Queen Consort should be obliged to submit  
 “ to such great neglect, as if the Archbishop of  
 “ Canterbury were in perfect ignorance of the  
 “ real existence of the Queen of England. The  
 “ Queen is desirous that Lord Liverpool, should  
 “ communicate this letter to the said Archbishop.  
 “ Lord Liverpool will not be able to believe, how  
 “ much the Queen was surprized at this first act  
 “ of cruel tyranny towards her, as she had been  
 “ informed, through the newspapers of the 22nd  
 “ February, that in the course of the debates in  
 “ the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh, one  
 “ of his best friends, had assured the Queen’s  
 “ Attorney-General, that the King’s servants  
 “ would not harass, or use any inattentions  
 “ towards her; after that speech of Lord Castle-

“ reagh’s, the Queen finds her name left out of  
 “ the book of Common Prayer, as if she were no  
 “ longer of this world. The Queen trusts that  
 “ before she arrives in London these matters will  
 “ be corrected, and that she will receive a satis-  
 “ factory answer from Lord Liverpool.

“ CAROLINE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.”

*To Lord Liverpool.*

In addition to such letters, she desired Mr. Brougham, to endeavour immediately to obtain for her a palace, and wrote to several other English friends on the subject. To one of them she addressed the following communication.

*Rome, 16th March 1820.*

“ During the period from the 4th of February,  
 “ I have never my dear —, received any letters.  
 “ I have only been informed, and that also very  
 “ unsatisfactorily, through the public papers, of all  
 “ the events which have taken place since George  
 “ IV. became King; the English who are here,  
 “ have in general taken no notice of their Queen.  
 “ The Government here, which on former oc-  
 “ casions constantly shewed itself inclined to  
 “ protect oppressed Monarchs, and persecuted  
 “ Royalty, has now under false pretences, wished  
 “ to make me believe that they have received no  
 “ official communication from England, relative  
 “ to the late King’s demise. The Hanoverian  
 “ Minister here, a certain Mr. Ryden, a most

“ impertinent and insolent diplomatist, absolutely  
 “ refused to acknowledge me as Queen, calling  
 “ me Caroline of Brunswick, and assuring many  
 “ of the English here, that their nation would  
 “ never send for me, nor acknowledge me as  
 “ the real Queen. The Cardinal Consalvi, a  
 “ deep politician, but a mere puppet, believes all  
 “ that that wicked man tells him, so I live here  
 “ in perfect incognito. I am ready to fly to Eng-  
 “ land, and for that reason I send Mr. John  
 “ Hieronymus to London, to settle for a palace  
 “ for me, and in short to prepare every thing for  
 “ me before I come. Mr. B. as well as all my  
 “ friends, must force the Ministers to order all  
 “ the Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers, to pay  
 “ all due respect to the Queen of England. Mr.  
 “ B. wishes me to go to another country, to wait  
 “ there till I can go to London; Brussels is quite  
 “ out of the question, as the relationship with the  
 “ King of Holland, is so near, and they have been  
 “ in all other respects so uncivil and impertinent,  
 “ that I never could think of exposing myself  
 “ there; in France, it was the same. To con-  
 “ clude, the moment I can travel with safety,  
 “ namely, that Lord Liverpool and Lord Castle-  
 “ reagh, give orders to the Foreign Ministers to  
 “ do their duty, by acknowledging me for their  
 “ real Queen, I shall set out immediately, and  
 “ in less than a month, I shall be in London.  
 “ Why should I be exposed to new insults? I  
 “ have hitherto found England my real home, and  
 “ for that reason I shall go there. Take a house

“ near Dover, and remain there till my friends  
 “ have found a palace in London for me. Also, all  
 “ my real friends can assure the people, that my  
 “ Italian Court has been dismissed on account of  
 “ my returning to England, with the exception  
 “ of a sufficient number of persons to conduct me  
 “ on the journey, as no English Ladies, though  
 “ there are a great many at present at Rome,  
 “ have offered themselves to accompany their  
 “ Queen to her country. Mr. John Hieronymus,  
 “ a very faithful servant of mine, I send over to  
 “ England to prepare a palace; I am anxious to  
 “ have either the late Queen’s house, or Marl-  
 “ borough House. Prince Leopold could go to  
 “ Claremont, for some months, and I could take  
 “ my first residence there, till a proper palace is  
 “ chosen for me.

“ Ever your sincere friend,

“ C. R.”

To the proceedings which occurred in England,  
 after the death of George III. to this period,  
 relative to her Majesty, it is now necessary to  
 refer. In the House of Commons, her situation  
 was referred to by several Members, and dis-  
 cussed, especially on the 26th and 27th of Feb-  
 ruary, when the usual sum was voted to his  
 Majesty, for the payment of annuities, salaries,  
 and pensions. The interference of the House of  
 Commons on this subject, was both proper and  
 necessary, since the annual sum of £35,000, which  
 was voted to her as Princess of Wales, and which

she had subsequently received, could not with propriety be paid to her, when she no longer continued to enjoy that title. She was therefore, legally without any income, except such as the King or his Ministers, might think proper to allow out of the civil list, until the decision of Parliament. Such observations and discussion, only however, terminated in a promise made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the sum granted to the Queen as Princess of Wales, would continue to be paid to her, until Parliament had made some other provision. This discussion, naturally however, tended to bring the case of her Majesty into public notice, and induced, her friends to complain; and her enemies to renew their observations, on the past impropriety of her conduct, and the necessity for examination, before she should be recognized as the Queen of England. From this time, she became the subject of general conversation; and during the succeeding period of twelve months, her situation, and the circumstances connected with her case, engrossed almost all the attention and energies of the population of this country. Trade and manufactures were comparatively unattended to; the nation became divided into two distinct parties: "The King's party," and "The Queen's party;" immense sums of money were expended by each party, in testifying their respect for her character, or their approval of the measures of Government; the middling and poorer classes of society, were almost universally attached to her cause, whilst

the nobility and gentry were nearly equally divided. The guilt or innocence of the Queen, were by some entirely disregarded, and the question was reduced by them, simply to one of Tory and Whig contention. Others, however, regarded the whole circumstances in their proper character, and anxiously watched how far the PRINCIPLES, which might be established by the case, might be injurious to the interests of the people, and derogatory to the dignity of the Crown. All, however, united in viewing it as a case unparalleled in interest and importance, and according to their respective prejudices and wishes, they either desired the success of the Ministry, or of the Queen. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the welfare of the country, during the year 1820, than the discussion of this subject. It was the first year of a new reign, and it was unhappily, one of the first acts of the Crown, to sanction an enquiry into the conduct of her Majesty, during her six years residence on the Continent.

It was so unfortunate not only to the trade, commerce, and agriculture, but to the honour, happiness, peace, and unanimity, of the country; and it was especially unfortunate because it tended to revive the discussion of events which had been nearly buried in oblivion, and which it would have been peculiarly advantageous to the country if they had never been again dragged forth to public notice and animadversion. Nor

was the King least uninjured by such discussions : quite otherwise.

Notwithstanding all his former indiscretions—notwithstanding the acts of his Ministers, when he was Regent—notwithstanding the misrepresentations of his enemies—and the admissions of his friends—it was within his reach, when raised to the Government of the Country, to have rendered himself one of the most popular Monarchs, whose names are recorded in the page of English history.

If, when he became the Monarch of these realms, he had dismissed from his employ men who had alternately supported and disgraced him—if he had formed a Whig administration—if he had compelled his Ministers to adopt a system of rigid economy—and, *if he had abandoned the project of enquiry into the alleged conduct of his illustrious Consort*—around his throne all classes of the community would have rallied, and for him they would have sacrificed their property, their comforts, and their lives.

To King George IV. the people were still attached—he was a Briton—he had an open ingenuous disposition—he was the son of a Monarch very generally beloved—his first friends had been “*the friends of the people*”—he had pledged himself in youth, to the support of the Constitution, of the freedom of the press, of trial by jury ; and the English nation did not forget that by MR. PITT he had been unjustly treated, that he had been exposed to difficulties and to opposition,

and even against hope, they continued to hope that the political hemisphere, though lowering, would become serene—that darkness would be succeeded by light, and that the reign of George IV. would be ushered in by events which would AT ONCE become guarantees for future happiness and permanent satisfaction.

But he was differently advised. He was prevailed on to retain the members of an Administration distinguished for imbecility, avarice, and unpopularity—and to support an investigation which could not produce any beneficial results, and which the wise and good of all parties sought to prevent, and will never cease to deplore.

But to return to her Majesty. From Rome she visited Pesaro, where she remained, however, but for a short time. At this place she was attacked with rheumatism, and her physician apprehended sciatica. The following observations of Professor Rasori, her physician, as to her health, during her residence on the Continent, will, however, best explain the nature of her complaint, and will additionally prove her fortitude and resolution, in venturing, notwithstanding the advice of her physician, immediately to visit England.

The following is a copy of his observations, dated 29th April, 1820.

“ When I had the honour of visiting her Majesty, for the first time, at Pesaro, in the spring of 1818, she had an attack of the jaundice,

“ which was supposed to proceed from the liver.  
 “ I was of opinion (as well as my celebrated  
 “ friend, Professor Tommasini) that it was prin-  
 “ cipally the consequence of a nervous derange-  
 “ ment, the melancholy result of violent agitation  
 “ of mind. The means then employed were as  
 “ effectual as could be desired, and her Majesty  
 “ continued well for a long time. After some  
 “ months she had a relapse, of which, however,  
 “ she recovered tolerably soon.

“ Last autumn, when I had the honour of see-  
 “ ing her Majesty before her journey to France,  
 “ I found her tolerably well, but foresaw the  
 “ development of a rheumatic attack, and ad-  
 “ vised her much repose and tranquillity. At  
 “ the present moment (the end of April) this  
 “ rheumatism appears particularly visible in the  
 “ left hip, and is clearly a beginning of sciatica,  
 “ occasioned by a troublesome and fatiguing  
 “ journey on horseback, and by sea, during a bad  
 “ season : so that I could not approve of her  
 “ approaching journey, knowing that her Majesty  
 “ intended to travel day and night, till her arrival  
 “ at London, which would be productive of dan-  
 “ ger to her valuable health. Baths, during June  
 “ and July, would cure her perfectly ; and I am  
 “ persuaded, that if her Majesty would put off  
 “ her journey till that period, and visit England  
 “ in August, she would be completely recovered

“ T. RASORI, Professor.”

From Pesaro she addressed a letter to an English friend, from which the following is an extract.

My dear ———,

“ I am in great haste, as I leave this place in  
 “ an hour’s time. The 30th April I shall certainly  
 “ be at Calais. My health is good, and my spi-  
 “ rits perfect. I have seen no person of any kind,  
 “ who could give me any advice different to my  
 “ feelings and my sentiments of duty, relative to  
 “ my present situation and rank in life. I send  
 “ you the order which Cardinal Consalvi gave,  
 “ when I left Rome the last time; you will see by  
 “ what name he did me the honour to call me.  
 “ The French ambassador, Blacas, would not  
 “ sign my passport, and the English consul, Mr.  
 “ Park, with trembling hand, much afraid of  
 “ losing his place, was at last obliged to give me  
 “ a passport for London. Mr. Craven, my for-  
 “ mer chamberlain, whom I left at Rome, will  
 “ meet me at Calais. \* \* \* \* \*

“ I shall write once more from Milan. I must  
 “ remain these two days to consult my Physician,  
 “ Professor Rasori. Any letter directed to Ge-  
 “ neva, will meet me.

“ C. R.”

According to the intimation contained in that letter, she quitted Pesaro and arrived at Milan. Notwithstanding the vigour of her mind, and the

cheerfulness and vivacity which she generally manifested, she was necessarily fatigued by these repeated movements; and the uncertainty which was connected with all her future operations, and the gloom which surrounded her path, tended to increase her indisposition and to render her intended journey manifestly dangerous to her health. But she was resolute: "England is my home," she exclaimed, "to which I shall immediately fly."

From Milan she despatched a courier to this country, announcing her intention, if possible, to arrive at the French coast, in order to be within reach of her advisers, by the first of May.

In furtherance of this intention, after the courier had set out, she commenced her wearisome route, travelling through Turin, over Mount Cenis, and by a circuitous, but pleasant road to Geneva.

At Turin, however, she was compelled by ill health to reside for many days, and from that place addressed the following letter to a friend in England.

*Turin, 1st May, 1820.*

"Five days I have been in bed with a dreadful rheumatic complaint, and Professeur Rasori would absolutely prevent my setting out; but I feel a little better now, and am now on the road a second time, and trust to the Almighty I shall arrive well in London. I send you a copy of the observations of Professeur Rasori: he was three years in London twenty years ago; a very clever Physician, and speaks English; he has

“ attended me constantly, but the Austrian Government will not let him have a passport to go with me to England. I am quite miserable at not being able to keep my word, by being by this time in London ; but Heaven ordained it otherwise.

“ C. R.”

On her arrival at Geneva, finding herself much indisposed, she determined for a few days not to proceed, but despatched a courier with letters to England. One of such letters is here inserted, because it contains sentiments which reflect honour on her character, and which, therefore, entitle her to be heard.

*Geneva, 7th May, 1820.*

“ The great cold upon the Mount Cenis gave me such dreadful spasms, that I was obliged to remain there two days in bed. I arrived here an hour ago, and am a little better. I send my courier to London, to inform you of my having left Italy. It will be impossible for me to go through France without a passport, and the Ambassador, Comte Blacas, absolutely refused to sign my passport at Rome ; and at Turin the same order was given. Brussels is also a place of hostility. Geneva is, in my opinion, the only place of some sort of liberty and freedom. I trust Mr. Brougham will come immediately here to meet me ; I trust also, that by this time you have received my last letter of the 1st May, with the observations of Professeur Rasori.

“ My health has suffered much since the melan-  
 “ choly death of my ever-beloved daughter, who  
 “ was my only comfort and my only glory in the  
 “ wide world. I am resigned to the will of Pro-  
 “ vidence ; and if I should not live to reach dear  
 “ Old England, I shall ever feel grateful to all the  
 “ noble and generous people for all they have  
 “ done for me ; and the same to all my steady  
 “ friends. I shall also forgive my enemies, and  
 “ pray for them, that they may redeem, and con-  
 “ fess the wrong they have done against my cha-  
 “ racter. Pray be so kind to answer me by my  
 “ courier, who is a safe person. I have seen in  
 “ the French Papers, that the King is well, and  
 “ has opened the Parliament himself.

“ C. R.”

The courier who conveyed such letter and other  
 despatches, called, on his route, on the English  
 Ambassador at Paris, to deliver to him some  
 letters ; who, having letters to forward to her  
 Majesty, improperly sent him back to Geneva with  
 them, he himself undertaking to forward those  
 of her Majesty by his own courier to Eng-  
 land.

The courier reached Geneva on his return late  
 at night. Her Majesty had retired to rest, but  
 was immediately put in possession of the letters  
 transmitted by Sir Charles Stuart, and was also  
 apprized of the extraordinary step which he had  
 taken. She immediately rose and directed, that  
 the Chevalier Vassali, one of her household, a

gentleman of high character and distinguished merit, should be directed to prepare for proceeding forthwith with other letters to London, which her Majesty then sat down to write. In these letters, she complained of the interruptions which her courier had received; and added, that, under such circumstances, she had felt it necessary to send one of her own establishment to England. She also said, that, if it were convenient for Mr. Brougham to join her at Geneva, she would, on the return of her messenger announcing that fact, immediately proceed to one of the ports of France, calculated to afford the most ready communication with England. She would be the more capable of this, as the rest which she had obtained in Geneva, added to the kind and liberal manner in which she had been treated by the inhabitants of that ancient and respectable town, and especially by some Englishmen, had tended greatly to improve her health, and to enable her to undergo further fatigue. One of those letters is here inserted.

*“ Geneva, May 12th, 1820.*

“ The English Ambassador at Paris has sent my  
 “ courier back with a letter, from Mr. Brougham,  
 “ and would not allow him to proceed to London  
 “ with my letters to you and Mr. Brougham.  
 “ I send off one of my equerries, the Chevalier  
 “ Vassali, a faithful person, who will deliver this  
 “ letter into your hands. This is the only place  
 “ I can remain quiet at, to arrange my affairs  
 “ before I go to England. My health is tolerable,

“ but I cannot support any fatigue. I trust you  
 “ have received all my letters, which must have  
 “ been delivered some time ago. The difficulties  
 “ to go through, to reach dear Old England by  
 “ land, is very great, as if it were in time of war.  
 “ I should have been a long time in London, had  
 “ I gone by sea. Mons. Vassali, my Equerry,  
 “ will be able to relate every thing to you : he is  
 “ a worthy man. I have such a dreadful head-  
 “ ache, I can no longer write.

“ C. R.

“ P. S. The country house of the late Duke  
 “ of Kent would not suit me at all ; it is too far  
 “ from the metropolis. A town-house must be  
 “ the first situation ; after that a country seat,  
 “ but not at Windsor. I never could live at a  
 “ place where my poor daughter was buried ;  
 “ besides, Windsor, at all times, recalls dreadful  
 “ recollections of my former misfortunes and  
 “ trials.”

The Chevalier Vassali set off immediately from  
 Geneva, and, in four days, arrived in London.  
 He immediately consulted with Mr. Brougham,  
 Mr. Denman, and other distinguished individuals,  
 as to the mode of proceeding which it would be  
 proper to adopt.

Mr. Brougham felt that, consistently with his  
 public engagements, it would be impossible for  
 him to join her at so great a distance as Geneva ;  
 added to which, where it might become requisite  
 to have repeated interviews and consultations, it

was considered, that her Majesty, being so far from the scene of discussion, might be productive of great and serious inconveniences. Under these circumstances, it was determined, with as little delay as possible, to send the Chevalier Vassali back to Geneva, with a request to her Majesty to lose as little time as possible in pursuing her route to Calais, or to some other town contiguous to the coast, so as to be in close communication with the English shore.

The Chevalier Vassali returned to Geneva with such directions, and, on the following day, she set out on her journey towards England.

Public feeling in this country now became intense in proportion to the supposed arrival of her Majesty, and those daily papers which contained any accounts of her movements were universally purchased and perused with avidity.

The Members of the Administration were not inattentive to her operations ; and her friends in the House of Commons, and out of that House, publicly pledged themselves to espouse her cause, by asserting her rights and studying to redress her alleged grievances.

On the 9th May Lord A. Hamilton rose, in the House of Commons, to ask a question relative to the provision which ought to be made for the support of her Majesty. On a former occasion, he said he had stated his intention of making some observations on this subject : he now wished to know, whether it was intended to propose any specific provision for her Majesty ; and if so, when

that provision would be proposed? He was surprised that no notice had been taken of that illustrious personage, by his Majesty's ministers in the progress of the resolutions respecting the Civil List.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply, stated, that the only answer he could give to the noble Lord was, that undoubtedly, it would become necessary to propose to Parliament to make provision for the Queen, as well as for several other branches of the Royal Family. The subject, he said, would soon be brought under the consideration of Parliament.

The intentions of her Majesty being communicated to Lord Liverpool, the Ministry became desirous, if possible, to prevent her arrival, by offers which they hoped, by their splendour, might attract her attention, and obtain her approbation. Her arrival, it was determined, if possible, to prevent; and Lord Hutchinson, a man of great integrity and honour, was selected on the part of the Government to conduct the negotiations.

In the mean time, Mr. Alderman Wood determined on quitting this Country, and on accompanying her Majesty to the metropolis of Great Britain. On the 3rd of May he reached Dover, was soon recognized, and it was speedily rumoured, that the Queen was immediately expected, and that the Alderman had come down to meet her. A good deal of bustle prevailed; but the departure of Alderman Wood to the French coast on the 24th, disappointed the hopes which

the people seemed to entertain. On arriving at Calais, he was joined by Lady Ann Hamilton, who had been appointed by the Queen as one of her Ladies in waiting, and on the following morning they proceeded towards Paris.

Whatever might be the ultimate decision of her Majesty, as to her visit to this country, it was now ascertained that she was approaching the French coast, and on her arrival at Dijon, she despatched a courier, charged with a letter to Mr. Brougham, in which she informed that gentleman, that it was her intention to be at St. Omer's on the following Wednesday, and requested his presence at that place, to confer upon the step which she was about to take, in immediately proceeding to England. At the time of the departure of this courier, her Majesty had not been joined by Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton, although she had received letters from them, announcing their intention to meet her on the road.

After the departure of the courier, her Majesty again continued her journey to Montbard. Here her Majesty retired to rest, and when at dinner, was agreeably surprised by the arrival of Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton, who by pursuing the route indicated by Count Vassali, were thus enabled to fall in with her Majesty without difficulty. The same evening she proceeded towards Villeneuve, where she arrived on the following day. Here, her Majesty repeated her determination to proceed forthwith to England; there to

assert her rights as Queen, and to insist on the examination of her conduct.

At this period in the history of her Majesty, it will not be improper to advert to the conduct and character of Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD, as connected with her case. Her knowledge of that gentleman, as a Magistrate, and as an individual disposed to afford her his personal support and protection, commenced in the year 1809, and continued to the period of her death. Whilst residing on the Continent, with him she occasionally corresponded, and habitually manifested towards him that partiality, which excited the envy of some and the regret of others. As a member of Parliament, a representative of the metropolis, as an active and approved magistrate, his aid was not to her unimportant; and his knowledge of the world and of affairs of business, rendered his assistance frequently requisite, and always useful. Long known as a friend to civil and religious liberty, his proffered services she was not disposed to reject; and on many occasions, both public and private, she expressed for him friendship the most sincere, and ratified her approbation by various presents; which, while they expressed her gratitude and her desire for his continued assistance, were not in themselves of value sufficient to constitute any kind of compensation for the trouble he sustained, and the expence he incurred. Such compensation, if offered, he would doubtless have rejected. Thousands of miles he appears to have travelled at his own

expence; and it will be perceived, that in every subsequent part of her history his name is identified with the name of her Majesty. It has been generally supposed, that it was solely by his advice that she was induced to return to England; but such supposition is erroneous, and the rapidity of her movements towards the shores of this country, was directed by herself, and all arrangements were executed by her express command. That Mr. Wood was favourable to such measure appears, however, to be equally incontrovertible; and, that he advised such proceeding is evident and demonstrable. The propriety of such advice has indeed been questioned, and will be yet further disputed; but, unless she was prepared tacitly to admit her guilt, when she, at the same time, protested her innocence, no other course could she have pursued. She was virtually and actually Queen of England; but the propriety of her title was disputed, and the morality and even legality of her conduct was questioned.

How, then, could she act? If she continued on the Continent, the immorality and illegality of her past conduct she would at once admit, and admit at the same time that she denied it. Those who advised, or desired her stay in Italy, perceived the difficulty, and, whilst they hesitated, she determined to act. Mr. Wood seconded those determinations, but more he could not—he did not effect.—Whether such reasoning was correct, or her conduct judicious, is another question. By some, the determination of the Queen will be

reprehended ; but, in the midst of difficulties, it appeared the most dignified, and, therefore, proper course, for her to adopt, *if*, as *she* asserted, her conduct had been marked by no improprieties during her residence on the Continent. As to Mr. Wood, it has, however, been observed, that he should not have interfered—that his assistance was unnecessary, and his exertions unavailing—that the proper sphere for his public efforts was in the city which he represented, and that, to local interests and public works, he might with advantage, have directed his attention.—The wisdom of such opinions have been, of course, by some applauded—whilst, by others, they have been denounced as selfish and improper. That the proper sphere for every man is where he can be most *really* useful, cannot be denied ; and as at this period her Majesty required not only advice, but personal assistance, and as various minor difficulties required to be overcome, and matters of business to be arranged, he offered his aid—it was gladly accepted, and anxiously retained to the period of her death.—Yet he never neglected the interests of his constituents. Nor was such conduct solely approved of by her ; it has met with very general approbation, and for it he has received the public thanks of corporate and other bodies, and of thousands of private individuals. To the Queen he was certainly attached, and, with her cause, he connected the welfare of the country, and the protection of our laws ; and, it must also be added, that for many members of the Administration,

and, generally, for their measures, he entertained, on public grounds, the most sincere dislike, and even contempt. Nor did he conceal his aversion, and to them he was peculiarly obnoxious.—With integrity and ardour he braved the perils of the path he selected; and if it was not his province, by the charms of eloquence, to defend her Majesty at the bar of the House of Lords, he assisted in collecting facts, obtaining witnesses, and conducting negociations and arrangements, which were of great importance, and which he managed with care and propriety. To the last moments of her existence, he attended either on her person, or at her palace; and travelled, at his own charges, to the sepulchre of his friend—there to pay the last tribute of respect to a being, whom, at least, he respected, and regarded as virtuous and good.

On arriving at Villeneuve le Roi, she determined on writing to the Duke of York, the Earl of Liverpool, and Lord Melville, requiring that a yacht should be immediately sent to Calais, to convey her to Dover. Those letters she immediately wrote and transmitted to England, but the requests they contained were not complied with. After proceeding through Abbeville, she arrived with her suite at St. Omers, on June 1st, there to wait the arrival of Mr. Brougham. On the third of June, Mr. Brougham, whom the Queen had appointed to the situation of her Attorney-General, accompanied by his brother and Lord Hutchinson, proceeded to St. Omers. To the Queen was communicated the

fact of Lord Hutchinson's interference, and of the hope he cherished that some arrangements might be made, which, without compromising her dignity, might prevent the necessity for her return to England. Those proposals, she required to be made in writing, and on the 4th of June, the following letter was sent by Lord Hutchinson, to Mr. Brougham.

That letter should be attentively perused, since on the propriety or impropriety of the terms which it proposed, rests the question of her rejection of such proposition, and her instant return to England.

Sir,

“ In obedience to the commands of the Queen,  
 “ I have to inform you, that I am not in possession  
 “ of any proposition or propositions, detailed in a  
 “ specific form of words, which I could lay before  
 “ her Majesty; but I can detail to you, for her in-  
 “ formation, the substance of many conversations  
 “ held with Lord Liverpool. His Majesty's Minis-  
 “ ters, propose that £50,000 per annum should be  
 “ settled on the Queen for life, subject to such con-  
 “ ditions as the King may impose. I have also  
 “ reason to know that the conditions likely to be  
 “ imposed by his Majesty, are, that the Queen is  
 “ not to assume the style and title of Queen of Eng-  
 “ land, or any title attached to the Royal Family  
 “ of England. A condition is also to be attached  
 “ to this grant, that she is not to reside in any part  
 “ of the United Kingdom, or even to visit England.

“ The consequence of such a visit, will be an im-  
 “ mediate message to Parliament, and an entire end  
 “ to all compromise and negociation. I believe  
 “ that there is no other condition. I am sure none  
 “ of any importance. I think it right to send to  
 “ you an extract of a letter from Lord Liverpool to  
 “ me: his words are—‘ It is material that her  
 “ Majesty should know confidentially, that if she  
 “ shall be so ill advised as to come over to this  
 “ country, there must be an end to all negociation  
 “ and compromise. The decision, I may say, is  
 “ taken to proceed against her as soon as she sets  
 “ her foot on the British shore.’ I cannot conclude  
 “ this letter without my humble, though serious  
 “ and sincere supplication, that her Majesty will  
 “ take these propositions into her most calm con-  
 “ sideration, and not act with any hurry or preci-  
 “ pitation, on so important a subject. I hope that  
 “ my advice will not be misinterpreted. I can  
 “ have no possible interest which would induce me  
 “ to give fallacious counsel to the Queen. But let  
 “ the event be what it may, I shall console myself  
 “ with the reflection, that I have performed a pain-  
 “ ful duty imposed upon me, to the best of my  
 “ judgment, and conscience, and in a case, in the  
 “ decision of which the King, the Queen, the  
 “ Government, and the people of England, are  
 “ materially interested. Having done so, I fear  
 “ neither obloquy, nor misrepresentation. I cer-  
 “ tainly should not have wished to have brought  
 “ matters to so precipitate a conclusion, but it is  
 “ her Majesty’s decision, and not mine. I am con-

scious that I have performed my duty towards her; with every possible degree of feeling and delicacy. I have been obliged to make use of your brother's hand, as I write with pain and difficulty, and the Queen has refused to give any, even the shortest delay."

" I have the honour to be, Sir;

" With great regard,

" Your most obedient humble servant;

" HUTCHINSON."

When this communication was read to her Majesty, she expressed herself much displeased, and indeed, indignant at the propositions it contained, and commanded Mr. Brougham to write to Lord Hutchinson, the following reply :

" Mr. Brougham is commanded by the Queen, to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Hutchinson's letter, and to inform his Lordship; that it is quite impossible for her Majesty to listen to such a proposition."

*Five o'clock, June 4, 1820.*

It should not be here forgotten, that on Mr. Brougham's arrival at St. Omer's, her Majesty's Chamberlains, the Baron Pergami and the Count Vassali, requested their own dismissal. They acknowledged the honour which had been conferred on them, in belonging to her establishment for six years; but having at last placed her under the protection of her friends, they presumed that, from

among the English, she would be enabled to find persons, not more worthy of her confidence than they had been, but, perhaps, less likely to excite prejudice than themselves.

The communication of Lord Hutchinson, additionally determined her Majesty immediately to proceed to England; and a courier was instantly despatched to Calais, to secure the Prince Leopold and Lady Jane packets for that purpose. Thus terminated the negociations of Lord Hutchinson, for at six o'clock in the evening, having obtained passports for her Italian suite to return, she left St. Omer's in her carriage, accompanied by Lady Hamilton, a female attendant, and Alderman Wood.

Such precipitancy was characteristic, though it was doubtless undignified; for she left St. Omer's before Lord Hutchinson, or any other person was aware of her intention. The only apology which can be made for such conduct, must be found in the fact, that she expected to be detained by the French Government, and that during her journey to Calais, if the horses walked up a hill, she expressed her fears lest she should be overtaken and stopped. At Calais she arrived late in the evening, drove to the pier, and at ten o'clock at night embarked for England.

As soon as her Majesty had quitted St. Omers, the following letter was received by Mr. Brougham from Lord Hutchinson:—

*St. Omers, five o'clock, June 4, 1820.*

“ My dear Sir,—I should wish that you would  
 “ enter into a more detailed explanation ; but, to  
 “ shew you my anxious and sincere wish for  
 “ an accommodation, I am willing to send a  
 “ courier to England to ask for further instruc-  
 “ tions, provided her Majesty will communicate  
 “ to you, whether any part of the proposition  
 “ which I have made, would be acceptable to  
 “ her ; and, if there is any thing which she may  
 “ wish to offer to the English Government, on her  
 “ part, I am willing to make myself the medium  
 “ through which it may pass.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ HUTCHINSON.”

This letter, from Lord Hutchinson, Mr. Brougham immediately transmitted to her Majesty, inclosed in the following note :—

*“ St. Omers, seven o'clock.*

“ Mr. Brougham presents his humble duty to  
 “ your Majesty, and incloses the letter which he  
 “ received from Lord Hutchinson the moment  
 “ after your Majesty left St. Omers. Mr.  
 “ Brougham, once more, most earnestly implores  
 “ your Majesty to refrain from rushing into cer-  
 “ tain trouble and possible danger ; or, at least,  
 “ delay taking the step, till Lord Hutchinson shall  
 “ have received fresh instructions. If your Ma-  
 “ jesty will authorize Mr. B—— to make a pro-  
 “ position like the one contained in the other

“ letter, all may yet be well; but your Majesty will put an end to any kind of accommodation, by landing in England.”

On reading this letter, her Majesty exclaimed, “ My mind is made up; it is in vain; I shall proceed;” and accordingly directed Mr. Wood respectfully to apprise Lord Hutchinson, that she saw no reason why she should alter her determination. The opinions and wishes of Mr. Brougham on the subject cannot, however, be mistaken, and they certainly deserve consideration.

On the morning of the 5th of June, the packet conveying her Royal Highness set sail for Dover, and, at one o'clock, she left the vessel in an open boat, as it could not arrive in the pier, and once more appeared amongst the English people.

Thus terminates the history of the Princess of Wales, from the year 1814 to 1820; a period big with events of the greatest importance, and replete with incidents which will excite the astonishment of future generations. If, however, those years had been unfortunate and unhappy to her Majesty, during the few succeeding months, she was exposed to more of mental agitation, and even anguish, than during any other part of her eventful history. Her return to England was the occasion of her prosecution—her degradation—her misery—and her death: and yet to England she could not but return.

## CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE QUEEN'S LANDING at DOVER TO THE HISTORICAL TERMINATION OF HER TRIAL BEFORE THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Her Majesty landed at Dover on the 5th of June, at one o'clock, *p. m.* Colonel Monroe, the Commander of the garrison, felt some embarrassment as to the mode of receiving her Majesty; but as no special instructions had been sent to him, he observed the general rule, which was to fire a royal salute whenever a royal personage landed at that place.

An universal shout of congratulation welcomed her arrival. For a few moments, her countenance and manner bespoke considerable agitation; but she soon recovered herself, and, with a firm step and composed manner, walked slowly along the crowded ranks of the inhabitants. As she moved along, the crowd gathered so fast, that she was compelled to take refuge in the York hotel. Mr. Wright, of the Ship hotel, (the inn at which her Majesty had arranged to take some refreshment,) immediately despatched an open carriage to the York hotel. The Queen, Lady Hamilton, and Alderman Wood, ascended the carriage; the populace removed the horses, and drew it themselves. A band of music preceded

her Majesty, and two large flags, bearing the inscription of "God save Queen Caroline." A Guard of Honour was placed at the door of the hotel, but the people did not seem to approve their appearance; and the Queen, observing to Mr. Wood, that their presence appeared rather to produce an unpleasant and angry feeling, suggested the propriety of their being removed. After playing "God save the King," the soldiers retired, and the populace seemed highly delighted. Her Majesty observed, that although she appreciated, as it deserved, the attentions of the Commandant, yet that she wanted no guard of soldiers, her firm reliance was on the just principles and cordial attachment of her people.

At six o'clock, a deputation of the inhabitants of Dover waited on her Majesty with a congratulatory Address; after which, she ascended her carriage, which was drawn by the people completely out of the town, amidst loud and reiterated cheers. The horses were then put in, and her Majesty proceeded to Canterbury. It was nearly dark when she arrived at this ancient city. The scene, however, became singularly beautiful, from the effect of one hundred flambeaux, which were lighted at its entrance. The horses were again taken from the carriage, which was drawn by the multitude through the main streets, and reached the Fountain hotel at nine o'clock.

The Mayor and Corporation were in waiting, attired in their corporate dresses, to present their congratulations.

The Queen retired early to rest, and ordered her carriages to be ready for her journey to London; at half-past ten on the following morning.

Although the morning was extremely unfavourable, from a continued fall of rain, the street in front of the hotel was filled with well-dressed persons, and every window was thronged with spectators. The populace would not permit the horses to be put to the carriages, but insisted upon drawing her Majesty completely through the town.

Through every village on the route towards London, the same enthusiasm prevailed. All business was at an end, and every class of society seemed to feel it a duty to pay homage to her Majesty. The bells of the churches were rung, and all was joy and exultation.

At Sittingbourne, a number of clergymen, in their gowns and bands, were waiting to pay their respects to her Majesty, and approached her for that purpose while the horses were changing.

At Chatham Hill, a great proportion of the population of the town and its vicinity, were collected to welcome her Majesty. An attempt was made to renew the compliment of drawing her through the town; but as she was anxious to reach London that day, at her request, the people desisted. She was, however, cheered from almost every house as she passed. The same scenes were renewed until she had gone completely through Rochester and Stroud. She was also attended by a very numerous cavalcade of horsemen.

At Gravesend, a rope was drawn across the road, and, in defiance of the repeated entreaties of Mr. Wood, her Majesty was again drawn by the people entirely through the town, amidst long and continued applause.

From Dartford, several horsemen came to meet her Majesty, and accompanied her carriage from thence to London. As she advanced towards Shooter's Hill, the attendant cavalcade increased in number. Hundreds of vehicles, of all descriptions, were seen stationary on each side of the road, and all joined in the general shout of congratulation, and afterwards formed part of the procession. Blackheath resembled a continental fair, and Deptford and Greenwich poured out, in indiscriminate concourse, all ranks and conditions of their inhabitants. On arriving at Blackheath, her Majesty's carriage drew up, and she alighted to take some refreshment. When she resumed her journey, the weather had cleared up, the carriage was thrown open, and the public gratified with an immediate view of their Queen. Mr. Wood, Lady Ann Hamilton, and a female attendant, rode in the same carriage. The acclamations were now renewed, and continued, without interruption, till the entire cavalcade reached the metropolis, when they swelled into a yet louder strain.

Though not originally intended to pass up Pall-mall, this direction was taken by the great body of horsemen, who preceded the royal carriage, and it was not thought necessary to turn suddenly

off. The sentinels on duty at Carlton House presented arms, but in a manner indicating some embarrassment.

Her Majesty now proceeded to the house of Mr. Alderman Wood, in South Audley-street, there, for the present, to fix her abode. Thither all parties, whether on horseback or on foot, instantly hastened, and the throng became as large as it was noisy. Considerable difficulty was experienced in leading up the royal barouche to the door. After the Queen had entered, there seemed to be no disposition to disperse. The tide of popular feeling was at its flood: vehicles of every kind maintained their position, and the crowd stood compact and immoveable. Her Majesty appeared on the balcony of the first floor, and having acknowledged the tokens of affectionate loyalty, by which her reception had been graced, withdrew. The crowd instantly dispersed, and the royal train, consisting of a calash and three post-chaises, were allowed to unload.

On the propriety of the selection of the house of Mr. Alderman Wood, even for a temporary residence, doubts have been entertained; and it has been urged, that, by such step, the subject of these Memoirs openly pledged herself to a decided opposition to the Government of the country. On the other hand, it has been contended, that, but for such proceedings, the Government would not have been induced to provide her with a proper residence, or with that necessary pecuniary assistance which she immediately required.

On the 6th of June, the same day which witnessed the Queen's arrival in the metropolis, the Earl of Liverpool conveyed a Message from his Majesty to the House of Lords, in the following terms :—

“ The King thinks it necessary, in consequence  
 “ of the arrival of the Queen, to communicate to  
 “ the House of Lords certain papers, respecting  
 “ the conduct of her Majesty since her departure  
 “ from this kingdom ; which he recommends to  
 “ the immediate and serious attention of this  
 “ House.

“ The King has felt the most anxious desire  
 “ to avert the necessity of disclosures and dis-  
 “ cussions, which must be as painful to his people  
 “ as they can be to himself ; but the step now  
 “ taken by the Queen, leaves him no alternative.

“ The King has the fullest confidence, that in  
 “ consequence of this communication, the House  
 “ of Lords will adopt that course of proceeding  
 “ which the justice of the case, and the honour  
 “ and dignity of his Majesty's Crown, may  
 “ require.

“ GEORGE R.”

His Lordship then laid on the table the papers referred to in his Majesty's Message. He stated that he should propose, that his Majesty's most gracious Message should be taken into consideration to-morrow, when he meant to move an address upon it, and then moved the customary resolution accordingly.

Lord Castlereagh, in the House of Commons, conveyed a similar Message to the one in the Lords, which occasioned a very animated debate; and the next day Mr. Brougham delivered a Message to that House from her Majesty, of which the following is a copy :—

“ The Queen thinks it necessary to inform the  
 “ House of Commons, that she has been induced  
 “ to return to England, in consequence of the  
 “ measures pursued against her honour and her  
 “ peace, for some time, by secret Agents abroad,  
 “ and lately sanctioned by the conduct of the  
 “ Government at home. In adopting this course,  
 “ her Majesty has had no other purpose whatso-  
 “ ever, but the defence of her character, and the  
 “ maintenance of those just rights, which have  
 “ devolved upon her by the death of that revered  
 “ Monarch, in whose high honour and unshaken  
 “ affection she had always found her surest sup-  
 “ port.

“ Upon her arrival, the Queen is surprised to  
 “ find that a Message has been sent down to  
 “ Parliament, requiring its attention to written  
 “ documents; and she learns, with still greater  
 “ astonishment, that there is an intention of pro-  
 “ posing that these should be referred to a Secret  
 “ Committee. It is this day fourteen years since  
 “ the first charges were brought forward against  
 “ her Majesty. Then, and upon every occasion  
 “ during that long period, she has shown the ut-  
 “ most readiness to meet her accusers, and to

“ court the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She  
 “ now also desires an open investigation, in which  
 “ she may see both the charges and the witnesses  
 “ against her; a privilege not denied to the  
 “ meanest subject of the realm. In the face of  
 “ the Sovereign, the Parliament, and the Country,  
 “ she solemnly protests against the formation of a  
 “ Secret Tribunal to examine documents privately  
 “ prepared by her adversaries, as a proceeding  
 “ unknown to the law of the land, and a flagrant  
 “ violation of all the principles of justice. She  
 “ relies with full confidence upon the integrity of  
 “ the House of Commons for defeating the only  
 “ attempt she has any reason to fear.

“ The Queen cannot forbear to add, that even  
 “ before any proceedings were resolved upon, she  
 “ has been treated in a manner too well calculated  
 “ to prejudice her case. The omission of her name  
 “ in the Liturgy—the withholding the means of  
 “ conveyance usually afforded to all the branches  
 “ of the Royal Family—the refusal even of an  
 “ answer to her application for a place of residence  
 “ in the Royal Mansions, and the studied slights  
 “ both of English Ministers abroad, and of the  
 “ Agents of all Foreign Powers, over whom the  
 “ English Government has any influence, must  
 “ be viewed as measures designed to prejudice  
 “ the world against her, and could only have  
 “ been justified by trial and conviction.”

In the House of Lords, on the following day,  
 Lord Liverpool moved that a Select Committee

of fifteen Lords, be chosen to examine the papers relative to the Queen: which was opposed by the Marquis of Lansdown and Lord Holland; but was at length agreed to: and the next day the following Lords were chosen as the Committee.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council, the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Buckingham, the Earl of Liverpool, the Earl of Donoughmore, Earl Beauchamp, Viscount Sidmouth, the Bishop of London, Lord Redesdale, Lord Ellenborough, and the Earl of Lauderdale.

Having obtained an appointment of a Select Committee, the Ministry were now naturally solicitous to ascertain, whether the proceedings, which were intended to be taken, would be supported by their friends. The result of such investigation convinced them that the moral and religious part of the community were averse to an inquiry, and in the House of Commons repeated adjournments took place, for the purpose, if possible, of amicably arranging the whole business.

To such arrangement her Majesty was not averse, and she stated her willingness immediately to enter into the discussion of the case. At the suggestion of several enlightened Statesmen, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh on the part of the King, and Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman for her Majesty, were selected as the gentlemen to whom should be entrusted the management of the negotiation. The

result of such negociation was, however, unsatisfactory, as the Protocols of Conferences held on the subject will develop. These Conferences took place in St. James's Square, and the first occurred on June 15, 1820. To these documents attention should be paid.

#### PROTOCOL OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE.

In pursuance of the notes\* of the 13th and 14th of June, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castle-reagh, on the part of the King, having met Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman, her Majesty's law officers, in order to facilitate the proposed personal discussions, it was suggested by the former :—

1st. “ That the persons named to frame an  
“ arrangement, although representing different  
“ interests, should consider themselves in dis-  
“ charge of this duty, not as opposed to each  
“ other, but as acting in concert, with a view to  
“ frame an arrangement, in compliance with the  
“ understood wish of Parliament, which may  
“ avert the necessity of a public inquiry, into the  
“ information laid before the two Houses.

2d. “ The arrangement to be made must be of  
“ such a nature as to require from neither party,  
“ any concession as to the result to which such

\* This refers to a correspondence between the Queen, the Earl of Liverpool, and Mr. Brougham, which terminated in the conferences here inserted.

“ inquiry, if proceeded on, might lead. The  
 “ Queen must not be understood to admit, or the  
 “ King to retract any thing.

3d. “ That in order the better to accomplish  
 “ the above important object, it was proposed,  
 “ that whatever might pass in the first conference,  
 “ should pledge neither party to any opinion ; that  
 “ nothing should be recorded without previous  
 “ communication, and, as far as possible, common  
 “ consent ; and, that in order to facilitate expla-  
 “ nation, and to encourage unreserved discussion,  
 “ the substance only of what passed should be  
 “ reported.”

These preliminary points being agreed to, the questions to be examined, (as contained in Lord Liverpool’s memorandum of the 15th of April, 1820, delivered to Mr. Brougham, previous to his proceeding to St. Omer’s, and in Lord Liverpool’s note of the 11th of June, and Mr. Brougham’s note of the 11th of June, written by the Queen’s commands) were :—

1st. The future residence of the Queen abroad.

2d. The title which her Majesty might think fit to assume when travelling on the Continent.

3d. The non-exercise of certain rights of patronage in England, which it might be desirable that her Majesty might desist from exercising should she reside abroad; and,

4th. The suitable income to be assigned for life to the Queen residing abroad.

Her Majesty's law officers, on the part of the Queen, desired, in the first instance, that the fourth point should be altogether laid aside in these conferences: her Majesty desired it might make no part of the conditions, nor be mixed with the present discussions. They then proceeded to state that under all the circumstances of her Majesty's position—they would not say that her Majesty had any insuperable objection to living abroad; on the contrary, if such foreign residence were deemed indispensable to the completion of an arrangement so much desired by Parliament, her Majesty might be prevailed upon to acquiesce, but then, that certain steps must be taken to remove the possibility of any inference being drawn from such a compliance, and from the inquiry not being proceeded in, unfavourable to her Majesty's honour, and inconsistent with that recognition which is the basis of these negotiations; and her Majesty's advisers suggested with this view the restoration of her name to the Liturgy. To this was replied, that the King's Government would no doubt learn, with great surprise, that a question of this important nature had now been brought forward, for the first time, without having been adverted to in any of the previous discussions, and without being included amongst the heads to be now treated of; that the Liturgy had been already regulated by his Majesty's formal declaration in Council, and in the exercise of his Majesty's legal authority; that the King, in yielding his own feelings and views to

the wishes of Parliament, could not be understood (in the absence of inquiry) to alter any of those impressions under which his Majesty had hitherto deliberately and advisedly acted; and that, as it was at the onset stated, the King could not be expected to retract any thing: no hope could be held out that the King's Government would feel themselves justified in submitting such a proposition to his Majesty.

To this it was answered, that although the point of the Liturgy was certainly not included by name amongst the heads to be discussed, her Majesty's law officers felt themselves entitled to bring it forward in its connection with the question of her Majesty's residence abroad. It was further contended, that the alteration of the Liturgy was contrary to the plain sense and even letter of the statute, and that it was highly objectionable on constitutional grounds, being contrary to the whole policy of the law respecting the security of the succession, and liable to be repeated in cases where the succession itself might be endangered by it; and therefore it was said that a step so taken might well be retraced without implying any unworthy concession. It was also urged, that the omission having been plainly made in contemplation of legal or Parliamentary proceedings against her Majesty, it followed, when those proceedings were to be abandoned, that the omission should be supplied; and it followed for the same reason, that supplying it would imply no retraction.

It was replied, that his Majesty had decided that her Majesty's name should not be inserted in the Liturgy, for several reasons not now necessary to discuss; that his Majesty had acted under legal advice, and in conformity to the practice of his Royal predecessors; and that the decision of his Majesty had not been taken solely with a view to intended proceedings in Parliament, or at law.

Independent of the inquiry instituted before Parliament, his Majesty had felt himself long since called upon to adopt certain measures to which his Majesty, as head of his family, and in the exercise of his prerogative, was clearly competent. These acts, together with that now under consideration, however reluctantly adopted, and however painful to his Majesty's feelings, were taken upon grounds which the discontinuance of the inquiry before Parliament could not affect, and which his Majesty could not, therefore, be expected to rescind. The principle fairly applied, would go, in truth, no further than to replace the parties in the relative position in which they stood immediately before her Majesty's arrival, and before the King's Message was sent down to both Houses of Parliament.

After further discussion upon this point, it was agreed that the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh should report to the Cabinet what had passed, and come prepared with their determination to the next Conference.

Her Majesty's law officers then asked, whether,

in the event of the above proposition not being adopted, any other proceeding could be suggested on the part of his Majesty's Government, which might render her Majesty's residence abroad, consistent with the recognition of her rights and the vindication of her character; and they specially pointed at the official introduction of her Majesty to Foreign Courts, by the King's Ministers abroad. Upon this it was observed, that this proposition appeared open to the same difficulty in point of principle; it was calling upon the King to retract the decision formerly taken and avowed on the part of his Majesty, a decision already notified to Foreign Courts; and, to render the position of his Majesty's representatives abroad, in relation to her Majesty, inconsistent with that of their Sovereign at home; that the purpose for which this was sought by the Queen's law officers was inconsistent with the principle admitted at the commencement of the conference, and was one that could not be reasonably required to be accomplished by the act of his Majesty—namely, to give to her Majesty's conduct that countenance which the state of the case, as at present before his Majesty, altogether precluded.

At the same time it was stated, that while his Majesty, consistently with the steps already adopted, could not authorise the public reception of the Queen, or the introduction of her Majesty at Foreign Courts by his Ministers abroad; there was, nevertheless, every disposition to see that branch of the orders already given, faithfully and

liberally executed, which enjoined the British Ministers on the Continent to facilitate, within their respective missions, her Majesty's accommodation, and to contribute to her personal comfort and convenience.

Her Majesty's law officers gave the King's servants no reason whatever to think that the Queen could be induced to depart from the propositions above stated, unless some others, founded on the same principles, were acceded to on the part of his Majesty's Government.

*Signed,*

WELLINGTON,  
CASTLEREAGH,  
H. BROUGHAM,  
T. DENMAN.

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PROTOCOL OF THE SECOND CONFERENCE.

*Foreign Office, June 16, 1820.*

The King's servants began the conference by stating, that they had not failed to report, with fidelity to the King's Government, the proposition brought forward by her Majesty's law officers, that the Queen's name should be expressly included in the Liturgy, in order to protect her Majesty against any misconstruction of the grounds on which her Majesty might consent to reside abroad; that they were not deceived for reasons sufficiently explained, in anticipating the surprise of their colleagues at the production of this question, for the first time, on the part of her Majesty, more especially in the present ad-

vanced state of the proceedings; that they were authorised distinctly to state, that the King's servants could on no account, advise his Majesty to rescind the decision already taken and acted upon in this instance; and that, to prevent misconception, the King's Government had charged the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, to explain that they must equally decline to advise the King to depart from the principle already laid down by his Majesty, for the direction of his representatives abroad with regard to the public reception by the King's Ministers abroad, and introduction of her Majesty at Foreign Courts; but that they were not only ready but desirous to guard in future by renewed orders, against any possible want of attention to her Majesty's comfort and convenience by his Majesty's Ministers abroad; and that, wherever her Majesty might think fit to establish her residence, every endeavour would be made to secure for her Majesty, from the State, the fullest protection, and the utmost personal comfort, attention, and convenience.

In explanation of the position in which the King actually stood upon this question in his foreign relations, the instructions under which the Ministers abroad now acted, were communicated to the Queen's law officers, and their attention was directed as well to the principles therein laid down, and from which his Majesty could not be called upon to depart, as to that branch of the instructions which were studiously framed to

provide for the personal comfort and convenience of the Queen when Princess of Wales.

The Queen's law officers then stated, that they must not be understood to suggest the giving of a general power to her Majesty to establish her Court in any foreign country, and to be there received and presented by the English minister, because reasons of state might render it expedient, that under certain circumstances, such an establishment should be made; but they wished that her Majesty should have the power of being so received and treated by the English ministers, where no such reasons of State interfered, and they inquired whether the same objection would exist to the public introduction of her Majesty at some one Court where she might fix her residence, if she waived the claim of introduction to foreign Courts generally.

To this it was answered, that the principle was, in fact, the same, whether at one or more Courts; and that if the King could be consistently advised to meet the Queen's wishes in this instance at all, it would be more dignified for his Majesty to do so generally and avowedly, than to adopt any partial or covert proceeding.

The Queen's law officers, referring to the decision of the Judges in George the First's reign, said it would be a much more unexceptionable exercise of the Royal prerogative, were the King even to prescribe where her Majesty should reside, and to order her there to be treated as Queen by his Minister.

The King's servants, in consequence of what had passed at a former conference, then reverted to the mode in which the Queen had arrived in England, and the pain her Majesty must experience were she disposed to leave England in the like manner. They acquainted her Majesty's law officers that they could venture to assure them that this difficulty would not occur. The Queen arrived in England, contrary to the King's wishes and representations; but were her Majesty now to desire to pass to the Continent, whether to a port in the Channel, or if it should more accord with her Majesty's views to proceed at once to the Mediterranean, a King's yacht in the one instance, or a ship-of-war in the other, might be ordered to convey her Majesty.

After receiving these explanations, the Queen's law officers recurred to the points before touched upon, viz. the inserting the Queen's name in the Liturgy, or the devising something in the nature of an equivalent; and intimated their conviction, that her Majesty would feel it necessary to press one or both of those objects, or some other of a similar nature and tendency. They then asked whether a residence in one of the royal palaces would be secured to her Majesty while in this country, and observed, that her Majesty had never been deprived of her apartments in Kensington Palace until she voluntarily gave them up for the accommodation of the late Duke of Kent. It was replied, that the King's servants had no instructions on this point. They, however, observed,

arrange, by mutual consent,  
 'nce.

(Signed as before.)

#### THE THIRD CONFERENCE.

*Foreign Office, June 17th, 1820.*


nce was opened by her Majesty's  
 intimating that, adverting to what  
 in the preceding conference, they had  
 propose but to proceed to the adjust-  
 the Protocol.

King's servants stated, before they entered  
 this business of arranging the Protocol, that  
 ey thought it their duty to advert to the points  
 discussed in the preceding conference, upon which  
 no explicit opinion had been expressed by them,  
 on the part of his Majesty's Government. They  
 then declared, that they were authorised to inform  
 the Queen's law officers, that, in the event of her  
 Majesty going to the Continent, a yacht or ship  
 of war would be provided for the conveyance of  
 her Majesty, either to a port in the Channel, or  
 to a port in the Mediterranean, as her Majesty  
 might prefer; that every personal attention and  
 respect would be paid by the King's servants  
 abroad to her Majesty; and every endeavour  
 made by them to protect her Majesty against  
 any possible inconvenience, whether on her  
 travels, or residing on the Continent; with the  
 understood reserve, however, of public reception  
 by the King's ministers abroad, and introduction  
 at foreign Courts.

that they believed the apartments which her Majesty formerly occupied, when Princess of Wales, were at present actually in the possession of the Duchess of Kent; and that they considered that this point had been already disposed of, by supplying to her Majesty the funds which were necessary to furnish her Majesty with a suitable residence.

Her Majesty's law officers then inquired, whether, supposing an arrangement was made, the mode of winding up the transaction and withdrawing the information referred to Parliament, had been considered, and whether the King's servants saw any objection, in the present instance, to the Houses of Parliament expressing, by suitable Addresses, both to the King and Queen, their grateful thanks for their Majesties having acquiesced in an arrangement, by which Parliament had been saved the painful duty of so delicate and difficult a proceeding. The King's servants acknowledged this point had not been considered, but reserved to themselves to report the observations made thereupon to their colleagues.

It was then agreed, that, upon every view of duty and propriety, the final decision should not be protracted beyond Monday; to which day it should be proposed, that the proceedings on the King's Message, in the House of Commons, should be adjourned, on a distinct explanation to this effect; and that a conference should take place to-morrow, in order to bring the business to a



conclusion, and to arrange, by mutual consent, the protocols of conference.

(Signed as before.)

PROTOCOL OF THE THIRD CONFERENCE.


*Foreign Office, June 17th, 1820.*

The Conference was opened by her Majesty's law officers, intimating that, adverting to what had passed in the preceding conference, they had nothing to propose but to proceed to the adjustment of the Protocol.

The King's servants stated, before they entered into this business of arranging the Protocol, that they thought it their duty to advert to the points discussed in the preceding conference, upon which no explicit opinion had been expressed by them, on the part of his Majesty's Government. They then declared, that they were authorised to inform the Queen's law officers, that, in the event of her Majesty going to the Continent, a yacht or ship of war would be provided for the conveyance of her Majesty, either to a port in the Channel, or to a port in the Mediterranean, as her Majesty might prefer; that every personal attention and respect would be paid by the King's servants abroad to her Majesty; and every endeavour made by them to protect her Majesty against any possible inconvenience, whether on her travels, or residing on the Continent; with the understood reserve, however, of public reception by the King's ministers abroad, and introduction at foreign Courts.

It was further stated by the King's servants, that, having weighed the suggestion communicated by the Queen's law officers in the preceding conference, they were now prepared to declare, that they saw no difficulty (if the terms on which the same were to be conveyed were properly guarded) to a proposition being made to both Houses, for expressing, by address to the Queen, as well as to the King, their grateful acknowledgments for the facilities which their Majesties might have respectively afforded towards the accomplishment of an arrangement, by which Parliament had been saved the necessity of so painful a discussion.

These observations not appearing to make any material difference in the views taken by her Majesty's law officers, of the result of the conferences, it was agreed to proceed in the arrangement of the Protocols. Before, however, the Protocol was discussed, the King's servants desired distinctly to know from her Majesty's law officers, whether the introduction of the Queen's name in the Liturgy, and her Majesty's introduction at foreign Courts, were either of them a condition *sine qua non* of an arrangement on the part of the Queen; to which it was replied, that either the introduction of her Majesty's name in the Liturgy, or an equivalent, which would have the effect of protecting her Majesty against the unfavourable inference to which her Majesty might be liable in leaving the country, under the circumstances in which her Majesty was placed, was



*a sine qua non.* The Queen could not be advised voluntarily to consent to any arrangement which was not satisfactory to her Majesty's own feelings; however, her Majesty, with a view to meet the understood wishes of Parliament, had felt it her duty to propose to leave the whole question to an arbitration.

No proposition on the part of her Majesty, other than those already adverted to, was brought forward. (Signed as before.)

#### PROTOCOL OF THE FOURTH CONFERENCE.

*St. James's Square, June 18th, 1820.*

Before proceeding to finish the discussion of the Protocols, it was suggested on the part of the King's servants, if possible, to meet her Majesty's wishes; and, in order the better to assure her Majesty every suitable respect and attention within the particular state in which she might think fit to establish her residence, (the Milanese, of the Roman States, having been previously suggested by her Majesty's law officers as the alternative within her Majesty's contemplation,) that the King would cause official notification to be made of her Majesty's legal character as Queen, to the government of such state. That consistently however, with the reasons already stated, it must rest with the sovereign of such state, what reception should be given to her Majesty in that character.

The King's servants were particularly anxious to impress upon the Queen's law officers, the pub-

lic grounds upon which this principle rested. The general rule of Foreign Courts is, to receive only those who are received at home. The King could not, with propriety, require any point of Foreign Governments, the refusal of which would not afford his Majesty just ground of resentment or remonstrance. It would be neither for the King's dignity nor for the Queen's comfort, that she should be made the subject of such a question.

To this it was replied for the Queen: that with respect to this new proposition on the part of the King's servants, it should be taken into immediate consideration; but her Majesty's law officers observed, that her Majesty was not in the situation referred to in the above reasoning, having been habitually received at Court in this country for many years, and having only ceased to go there in 1814, out of regard to the peculiar delicate situation in which the unfortunate difference in the Royal Family placed the late Queen.

The latter observation was met on the part of the King's servants, by a re-assertion of his Majesty's undoubted authority on this point, whether as King or as Prince Regent, in the exercise of the Royal authority, that the Court held by her late Majesty was, in fact, the Court of the Prince Regent, then acting in the name and on the behalf of his late Majesty; and that the present Queen, then Princess of Wales, was excluded from such Court.

(Signed as before.)

## PROTOCOL OF THE FIFTH CONFERENCE.

*Foreign Office, June 19, 1820.*

The Protocols of the preceding Conferences were read, and agreed upon.

Her Majesty's law officers stated, that the proposition of yesterday had been submitted to her Majesty, and that it had not produced any alteration in her Majesty's sentiments.

In order to avoid any misinterpretation of the expressions used on mentioning their belief that her Majesty might overcome her reluctance to go abroad, viz. "under all the circumstances of her position," they stated that they meant thereby, the unhappy domestic differences which created the difficulty of her Majesty holding a Court, and the understood sense of Parliament, that her Majesty's residence in the country might be attended with public inconvenience.

They also protested generally, in her Majesty's name, against being understood to propose to desire any terms inconsistent with the honour and dignity of the King, or any which her own vindication did not seem to render absolutely necessary.

## MEMORANDUM.

The second and third points, as enumerated for discussion in the Protocol of the first conference, were not brought into deliberation, in consequence of no satisfactory understanding having taken place

upon the points brought forward by her Majesty's law officers.

The five Protocols were then respectively signed.

*Signed,* WELLINGTON,  
CASTEREAGH,  
H. BROUGHAM,  
T. DENMAN.

According to the anticipations of the Queen, and indeed, of the majority of the country, these negotiations were thus unavailing, and the only step which appeared proper to be taken and likely to be attended with success, was, by the legitimate and dignified interference of the Council of the nation.

Mr. Wilberforce indicated, therefore his intention to interfere; and after the lapse of a few days, he moved in the House of Commons, on Thursday, June 22, the following Resolution:—

“ Resolved, That this House has learned, with  
“ unfeigned and deep regret, that the late en-  
“ deavours to frame an arrangement which might  
“ avert the necessity of public inquiry into the  
“ information laid before the two Houses of Par-  
“ liament, have not led to that amicable adjustment  
“ of the existing differences of the Royal Family,  
“ which was so anxiously desired by Parliament  
“ and the nation.

“ That this House, fully sensible of the ob-  
“ jections which the Queen might justly feel to



“ taking upon herself the relinquishment of any  
 “ points in which she might have conceived her own  
 “ dignity and honour to be involved, yet feeling  
 “ the inestimable importance of an amicable and  
 “ final adjustment of the present unhappy differ-  
 “ ences, cannot forbear declaring its opinion, that  
 “ when such large advances have been made to-  
 “ wards that object, her Majesty, by yielding to  
 “ the earnest solicitude of the House of Commons,  
 “ and forbearing to press further the adoption of  
 “ those propositions on which any material dif-  
 “ ference of opinion is yet remaining, would by  
 “ no means be understood to indicate any wish to  
 “ shrink from inquiry, but would only be deemed  
 “ to afford a renewed proof of the desire which her  
 “ Majesty has been graciously pleased to express,  
 “ to submit her own wishes to the authority of  
 “ Parliament; thereby, entitling herself to the  
 “ grateful acknowledgments of the House of Com-  
 “ mons, and sparing this House the painful neces-  
 “ sity of those public discussions, which, what-  
 “ ever might be their ultimate result, could not  
 “ but be distressing to her Majesty’s feelings,  
 “ disappointing to the hopes of Parliament, dero-  
 “ gatory from the dignity of the Crown, and in-  
 “ jurious to the best interest of the Empire.”

The proposal of this resolution occasioned a long and animated debate. Lord Hamilton moved an amendment to Mr. Wilberforce’s motion, in substance, that the insertion of the Queen’s name in the Liturgy, would be the surest means of

bringing about an adjustment of this unpleasant business; this amendment was negatived; there being

For Mr. Wilberforce's motion - 391

Lord Hamilton's amendment 124

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Majority 267

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Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Mr. Banks, and Sir T. Ackland, were then named and appointed to present the Address to her Majesty, which they accordingly did, on the following Saturday, at the Queen's residence, in Portman Street. Her Majesty received the deputation in the drawing-room, and Mr. Wilberforce and his friends, having approached, paid the customary obeisance to royalty. Mr. Wilberforce, then stated the object of their attendance. At the conclusion, her Majesty returned the following answer, which was read by Mr. Brougham:—

“ I am bound to receive with gratitude, any attempt on the part of the House of Commons, to interpose its high mediation for the purpose of healing those unhappy differences in the Royal Family, which no person has so much reason to deplore as myself. And with perfect truth I can declare, that an entire reconciliation of those differences, effected by the authority of Parliament, on principles consistent with the honour and dignity of all the parties, is still the object dearest to my heart.

"I cannot refrain from expressing my deep sense of the affectionate language of these resolutions; it shews the House of Commons to be the faithful representatives of that generous people, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid.

"I am sensible, too, that I expose myself to the risk of displeasing those who may soon be the judges of my conduct, but I trust to their candour and their sense of honour; confident that they will enter into the feelings which alone influence my determination.


"It would ill become me to question the power of Parliament, or the mode in which it may at any time be exercised; but however strongly I may feel the necessity of submitting to its authority, the question whether I will make myself a party to any measure proposed, must be decided by my own feelings and conscience, and by them alone. As a subject of the State, I shall bow with deference—if possible, without a murmur—to every act of the sovereign authority; but as an accused and injured Queen, I owe it to the King, myself, and all my fellow subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or withdraw any appeal to those principles of public justice, which are alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual."

The Address of the House of Commons, occasioned, however, to her Majesty great embarrass-

ment and uneasiness. She felt that by rejecting their requests, she would prejudice many persons against her cause; yet she also felt that by relinquishing the point for which she contended, she would be acknowledging her guilt; and that she had forfeited her right to that interest, in their religious services, which had been bestowed on her by her departed uncle, George III.—Adopting therefore, the advice of Mr. Brougham, she returned the answer which has already been inserted; and on Monday, June 26th, Lord Dacre presented the following Petition from her Majesty, to the House of Lords, against the Secret Committee, which was received.

“ To the LORDS SPIRITUAL and TEMPORAL, in  
Parliament assembled.

“ CAROLINE R.—The Queen having been informed that proceedings are about to be instituted against her, in the House of Lords, feels it necessary to approach your Lordships, as a petitioner, and a fellow subject. She is advised, that, according to the forms of your Lordships’ House, no other mode of communication is permitted. Now, as at all times, she declares her perfect readiness to meet every charge affecting her honour; and she challenges the most complete investigation of her conduct. But she protests, in the first place, against any secret inquiry: and if the House of Lords should notwithstanding, persist in a proceeding



“ so contrary to every principle of justice and of  
 “ law, she must in the next place declare, that  
 “ even from such an unconstitutional course, she  
 “ can have nothing to apprehend, unless it be  
 “ instituted before the arrival of those witnesses,  
 “ whom she will summon immediately, to expose  
 “ the whole of the machinations against her.  
 “ She is anxious that there should be no delay  
 “ whatever in finishing the inquiry; and none  
 “ shall be occasioned by her Majesty. But the  
 “ Queen cannot suppose that the House of Lords  
 “ will commit so crying an injustice, as to autho-  
 “ rize a secret examination of her conduct, in the  
 “ absence of herself, and her Counsel, while her  
 “ defence must obviously rest upon evidence,  
 “ which for some weeks cannot reach this coun-  
 “ try. The instant that it arrives, she will en-  
 “ treat the House of Lords to proceed in any  
 “ way they may think consistent with the ends  
 “ of justice; but in the mean time, and before  
 “ the first step is taken, her Majesty desires to  
 “ be heard by her Counsel, at your Lordships’  
 “ bar this day, upon the subject matter of the  
 “ petition.”

On the motion of Lord Dacre, Counsel were  
 called in to support this Petition, and Mr.  
 Brougham and Mr. Denman, spoke at great  
 length against the formation of the Secret Com-  
 mittee. On the next day, Earl Grey moved that  
 the order for the meeting of the Committee, to  
 consider the papers, should be discharged, which  
 was negatived by a majority of fifty-five.

On July 4th, Lord Harrowby, laid on the table the Report of the Secret Committee, to whom the papers, connected with his Majesty's message, had been referred, and the Clerk read the following Report.

“ By the Lords' Committee, appointed to a Secret Committee, to examine the papers laid before the House of Lords, on Tuesday, the 6th of June last, in the sealed bags, by his Majesty's command, and to Report thereupon, as they shall see fit, and to whom have been since referred several additional papers, in two sealed bags, relative to the subject matter of his Majesty's most gracious Message, of the 6th of June last.— Ordered to report,—

“ That the Committee have examined, with all the attention due to so important a subject, the documents which have been laid before them, and they find that those documents contain allegations supported by the concurrent testimony of a great number of persons in various situations of life, and residing at different parts of Europe, which deeply affect the honour of the Queen, charging her with an adulterous connexion with a foreigner, originally in her service in a menial capacity; and attributing to her Majesty a continued series of conduct highly unbecoming her Majesty's rank and station, and of the most licentious character.

“ These charges appear to the Committee, so deeply to affect, not only the honour of the

Queen, but also the dignity of the Crown, and the moral feelings and honour of the country, that in their opinion, it is indispensable that they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry, which it appears to the Committee, may be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding, the necessity of which they cannot but most deeply deplore."

On the following day, Lord Dacre, presented a petition from her Majesty, which stated that she had observed the Report of the Secret Committee, which was now lying on the table of the House of Lords, and that she was prepared at this moment, to defend herself from the charges contained therein; and, therefore, prayed to be heard by her Counsel. The prayer of this petition was not granted, on the ground of its irregularity.

The Earl of Liverpool, then proposed the introduction of the Bill, founded on the Report of the Secret Committee, which was ordered accordingly.

That Bill, as it is short, is here inserted, and it should be attentively perused.

" A Bill entitled an Act to deprive her Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, of the Title, Prerogatives, Rights, Privileges, and Exemptions, of Queen Consort of this Realm, and to dissolve the Marriage between his Majesty, and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth.

“ Whereas, in the year 1814, her Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, then Princess of Wales, and now Queen Consort of this Realm, being at Milan, in Italy, engaged in her service, in a menial situation, one Bartolomo Pergami, or Bartolomo Bergami, a foreigner of low station, who had before served in a similar capacity :

“ And whereas, after the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, had so entered the service of her Royal Highness, the said Princess of Wales, a most unbecoming and degrading intimacy commenced between her said Royal Highness, and the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami.

“ And her said Royal Highness not only advanced the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, to a high situation in her Royal Highness's household, and received into her service many of his near relations, some of them in inferior, and others in high and confidential situations, about her Royal Highness's person ; but bestowed upon him other great and extraordinary marks of favour and distinction ; obtained for him orders of knighthood, and titles of honour, and conferred upon him a pretended order of knighthood, which her Royal Highness had taken upon herself to constitute, without any just or lawful authority.

“ And whereas, also her said Royal Highness, whilst the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, was in her said service, further unmindful of her exalted rank and station,

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and of her duty to your Majesty, and wholly regardless of her own honour and character, conducted herself towards the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, and in other respects, both in public and private, in the various places and countries which her Royal Highness visited, with indecent and offensive familiarity and freedom, and carried on a licencious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse, with the said Bartolomo Pergami, otherwise Bartolomo Bergami, which continued for a long period of time, during her Royal Highness's residence abroad, by which conduct of her said Royal Highness, great scandal and dishonour have been brought upon your Majesty's family and this Kingdom. Therefore, to manifest our deep sense of such scandalous, disgraceful, and vicious conduct, on the part of her said Majesty, by which she has violated the duty which she owed to your Majesty, and has rendered herself unworthy of the exalted rank and station of Queen Consort of this Realm, and to evince our just regard for the dignity of the Crown, and the honour of this nation, we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, do humbly entreat your Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, and by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that her said Ma-

jesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, from and after the passing of this Act, shall be, and is hereby deprived of the title of Queen, and of all the prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions, appertaining to her as Queen Consort of this Realm; and that her said Majesty shall, from and after the passing of this Act, for ever be disabled, and rendered incapable of using, exercising, and enjoying the same, or any of them: and moreover, that the marriage between his Majesty, and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, be, and the said is, hereby from henceforth for ever wholly dissolved, annulled, and made void, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, whatsoever."

This was the Bill of Pains and Penalties, proposed to be enacted against the Queen Consort of Great Britain, and to which many legal and constitutional objections have been urged. To the Bill in toto, it was urged, that it was a novel and a dangerous proceeding—that it was declaratory, as well as remedial—that it at the same time enacted and punished—and that it was the first attempt of the kind which had been made, since the days of Henry VIII. to the present time. That though Bills of Attainders, and Bills of Pains and Penalties, had been passed, yet that STATE NECESSITY had sanctioned their introduction; but that in the present case, no State necessity existed. That the circumstances alleged to have taken place, had occurred six years prior to the time they were brought forward.

That no connexion was proved which could produce a foreign offspring to claim succession to the crown; that there was not to be found any precedent to justify this course of proceeding; that there were no principles to guide the decision of those who were to oppose or support the Bill, but the common law of the land; and that such common law did not recognise Secret Committees: and tribunals where the most illustrious persons might be accused and condemned without a hearing; that if Pains and Penalties meant only temporal punishment, fine, imprisonment, and corporal infliction, then that this Bill contained no protection of the Queen from those Pains and Penalties; that after the degradation of character which the Bill would inflict, the Queen would be still subject to impeachment, and still exposed to the penal consequences of her imputed crime. That it was a Bill of Divorce not founded upon any evidence of adultery; that it was a Bill of Pains and Penalties not founded upon any previous proceedings either in the Courts of Common or Civil Law; that before such a Bill could have been introduced against any other individual, there must have been a sentence in the Consistory Court; that there was nothing in the allegations of the preamble which precluded those who now voted respecting this Bill, from becoming judges in a criminal proceeding, upon charges arising out of the very evidence which they were called upon to examine as Legislators, in support of those allegations; and that the introduction of the Bill was improper,

as it prejudged the guilt of the Queen. Nor are such the only objections to be urged against the Bill. The Bill was a private law, it was introduced in a particular case for the punishment of an individual.

Such kinds of proceeding are known unhappily in the jurisprudence of all countries, but are never resorted to in any country, nor in the worst of times, without producing a deep sense of their hateful consequences, and their utter repugnance to every sound principle of jurisprudence. Such laws were sometimes passed in the earlier periods of the Roman history, and were denominated *privilegia*. They were divided into two classes—one consisting of laws passed against, and the other of laws passed in favour of, individuals. The great Roman juriconsults, however, who well knew the value of their expressions, as well as of the principles which they established, had called all such laws *privilegia odiosa*, thereby indicating to after times that they ought never to be resorted to except in cases of absolute necessity.

Another objection to the bill was, that it was an *ex-post facto* law; it suffered a deed to be done, and afterwards pronounced upon its innocence or its guilt. Without notice or warning it laid hold of a party, and inflicted punishment with the same severity as if the supposed crime had been distinctly defined, and the punishment denounced. Similar attempts are certainly recorded in the history of this country, but they were generally met with corresponding feelings of abhorrence.

The bills passed against Mortimer and others, at the commencement of Edward III.'s reign, were afterwards rescinded, as was also the case with most of those passed during the reign of Richard III. The succeeding age was almost sure to regard them as measures adopted to serve a temporary purpose. As to the case of Lord Strafford, under Charles I., the Bill of Attainder passed against that nobleman was the greatest disgrace that ever sullied the purity of either House of Parliament. Had the impeachment been persevered in, the proceedings would have had the semblance of a judicial enquiry. It would have been *quasi* judicial, although the principles of justice would even then have been violated while its forms were half observed. But the Bill of Attainder was afterwards regarded with feelings which did honour to those who cherished them. But as to this case, the proceedings to which it led, as well as the protests of the virtuous minority who opposed the Bill, all went to prove, that such measures could only be justified in order either to save the state from ruin, or because justice had failed from some positive default, in a court competent to administer it. And as to the case of BISHOP ATTERBURY, thirty illustrious Peers protested against the Bill, and that protest was prepared by Lord Chancellor Cowper. But no precedent can justify a bad measure. And in this case no precedent would operate; it was on the whole, a novel measure, and was unjustifiable, unconstitutional, and, therefore, to be deprecated and feared.

After the reading of the Bill a debate ensued, in which Earl Grey enquired first, whether any more particular specification of the offences stated by the Committee would be laid before the House? and next, whether it was intended to give to her Majesty a list of the witnesses, by whom she was accused? The Earl of Liverpool replied, that the communication in the preamble of the Bill, was as particular as could be found in any Bill of the same nature. And with regard to the delivery of a list of witnesses, such course was wholly unprecedented; but instead thereof, when the case for the prosecution had closed, then any time which her Majesty might think proper, should be afforded to enable her to rebut the evidence against her.

At such a Bill as that which has been inserted, it cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprize that the Queen was astonished and overwhelmed. She was so astonished at the very fact of its introduction, and especially considering that it was so introduced on *exparte* and unauthenticated statements; but she was overwhelmed by the charges which it brought against her, and which she declared were as false as they were malignant. She immediately determined on presenting a petition to the House of Peers; and to Lord Dacre she entrusted its presentation. On the 6th of July he executed his instructions, and presented the following Petition.

## CAR, REG.

“The Queen has heard, with inexpressible  
 “astonishment, that a Bill, conveying charges,  
 “and intending to degrade her, and to dissolve  
 “her marriage with the King, has been brought  
 “by the first Minister of the King, into the  
 “House of Lords, where her Majesty has no  
 “Counsel or other officer to assert her rights.  
 “The only alleged foundation for the Bill is the  
 “Report of the Secret Committee, proceeding  
 “solely on papers submitted to them, and before  
 “whom no single witness was examined. The  
 “Queen has been further informed, that her  
 “Counsel, last night, were refused a hearing at  
 “the bar of the House of Lords, at that stage of  
 “the proceeding, when it was most material that  
 “they should be heard; and that a list of the  
 “witnesses, whose names are known to her ac-  
 “cusers, is to be refused her. Under such cir-  
 “cumstances, the Queen doubts whether any  
 “other course is left to her, but to protest in the  
 “most solemn manner against the whole of the  
 “proceedings; but she is anxious to make one  
 “more effort to obtain justice, and therefore de-  
 “sires that her Counsel may be admitted to state  
 “her claims at the bar of the House of Lords.”


After the reading of this Petition, Lord Dacre  
 moved that her Majesty's Counsel should be  
 called in, and heard in defence thereof, and which  
 was agreed to.

Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman, then delivered able and eloquent orations on the mode and manner of proceeding to be had on the Bill; and the time when those proceedings should take place. After the delivery of such speeches a debate ensued which was adjourned to the 11th July, when the Bill was ordered to be read a second time, on the 17th of August. This interval was stated to be requisite to make the necessary arrangements for proceeding with the Bill.

It now became necessary immediately to send out a Commissioner to Italy, for the purpose of collecting evidence on behalf of the Queen. Mr. Henry, a gentleman of great respectability, was selected for that purpose. On the 2nd of August, he was appointed, and arrived at Milan on the 12th. On the 14th, he had an audience with Count Strasoldi, the Governor, as the Queen's Commissioner, and was received by him in that capacity; and informed, that, on application being made, the witnesses should receive the necessary passports, on producing a letter from Mr. Henry to the witnesses individually, requesting their attendance in England. Mr. Henry accordingly prepared the form of such letter, and sent a copy thereof to each person whose attendance is required. The following is a transcript thereof:

*Milan, August 20th, 1820.*

“ In consequence of the Commission of the  
“ undersigned, from her Majesty the Queen of



to procure her the means of defence, the Bill now pending in Parliament, and the Commission has been recognized by the Government; the undersigned requests for ——— to have the goodness to go to England as a witness, to depose there for the truth; and informs him, that on presenting himself, with this letter, to the Police, he will procure the necessary passports."

*Signed,* " J. HENRY."

" Delegate of her Majesty, the Queen of England."

Amongst the persons to whom the letter was sent, was one Joseph Corticelli, who first applied for a passport and was refused, (vide Appendix No. II, page ccxxvii) under the alleged reason, that the application should have been made by Mr. Brougham. And surprised at such refusal, Mr. Henry immediately attended on the Governor, and represented to him the utter impossibility that either her Majesty or Mr. Brougham could attend at Milan, to demand the passports; and as he was the sole agent of her Majesty, recognized by the English and Austrian Governments; the difficulty consisted in the mere wording of the instructions of his Imperial Majesty, to this effect; and that if he was not so acknowledged by the Governor, his mission was entirely useless.

It should have been previously mentioned, that when the time was granted by the House of Lords to the Queen, to collect evidence on her behalf, the English Government arranged with Lord Stewart the Minister at Vienna, to conduct the necessary arrangements with Foreign Powers. Lord Stewart accordingly gave such instructions, and on the wording of which all the subsequent controversy occurred.

When Mr. Henry remonstrated with the Governor on the impropriety of refusing passports, he enquired whether he was furnished with a power from her Majesty? to which he replied in the negative, but observed, that he considered his recognition by Lord Castlereagh, as his Majesty's agent, to be sufficient. The Governor did not regard this explanation as satisfactory, and Mr. Henry, therefore, attended on him the next day, accompanied by Count Vassali, who produced a regular authority in writing from the Queen, for the purpose of collecting and transmitting her evidence. The validity of this instrument the Governor, however, refused to admit; and observed that he could only acknowledge Mr. Henry as being the only person officially known to him. As further explanation or remonstrance would have been ineffectual with his Excellency, Mr. Henry, therefore, despatched a courier, on the 25th August, to Lord Stewart at Vienna, informing him of the circumstances which had taken place, and requesting his Lordship to obtain from the Austrian Government the effectual

recognition of his character. From Lord Stewart Mr. Henry received a letter, in which he informed him that the following were the instructions which he, Lord Stewart, had given.

“ That the persons going, and for whom passports were asked, should have them formally demanded by her Majesty the Queen, or her chief law adviser, *and that the characters and all that related to them*, should accompany these persons. The same regulations were to be observed in all quarters.”

On the 9th of Sept. Mr. Henry replied to Lord Stewart's letter; in which he stated, that neither her Majesty nor her Attorney General could be expected to come to Milan in person, to apply for passports, and in England it would have been absolutely out of their power to apply to the different Austrian States in Lombardy, for passports on behalf of persons whose names, even, in many instances, must be unknown to them, and still more, “ their characters and all that relates to them.” After a tedious correspondence, occupying nearly a month, between Mr. Henry and Lord Stewart, the original instructions, as to the passports, were so far qualified as to recognize Mr. Henry's application for them as sufficient; but even then, such were the difficulties with which they were clogged by official formalities, that he was not enabled to despatch his first witnesses from Milan, before the 15th of September. *First*, each witness was required to exhibit from

Mr. Henry, a letter as her Majesty's agent, formally requesting his attendance in England; *secondly*, a certificate of his age; *thirdly*, if married, the consent of his wife to his absence; *fourthly*, if unmarried, of his parents; *fifthly*, proof from the local authorities, that he had regularly observed the conscription laws, or was by age no longer subject to them; or if subject, that he would return within the time limited by his passport, or procure a substitute, for which Mr. Henry was obliged to give security; *sixthly*, a certificate from the Criminal Court, that he was not under any process, which certificates were termed *Fedine Criminale*; and, *seventhly*, Mr. Henry was obliged, by the police, to give a security, through Marietti the banker, for the maintenance of the families of the witnesses during their absence.

After all these preliminary requisitions had been acceded to, all these documents were to be vised or vidimated and legalized, with all the German phlegm of office, through a variety of bureaus, though time was fast advancing: and thus a great State like Austria, notwithstanding its professed wishes for the furtherance of justice, in various official papers communicated to Mr. Henry; and the desire of the King of England, officially expressed in Lord Castlereagh's despatch of the 4th of August, 1820 (also in his despatch of the 13th of September) to Lord Stewart to the same effect, could not overcome the most trifling irregularity or omission in these miserable formalities, which

impeded the progress of the greatest cause that the civilized world has yet known ; and which, one stroke of Prince Metternich's pen would, in an instant, have effectually removed. Till these formalities had been duly observed, to the strict letter, in every instance ; and the daily difficulties overcome by almost hourly attendance at the different offices, not a passport could be obtained or a document authenticated. So much difficulty was made on the part of the local authorities, in giving effect to any application, by the agents of the Queen, that even the application for a certificate from the Casino dei Nobili at Milan, whether her Majesty had ever applied to be admitted as a member of that Society, which they were directed to make and transmit, properly legalized to England, could not be obtained by Signor Codazzi, although furnished with a regular Power of Attorney from Mr. Henry. After a correspondence in form, it was refused him, as not being properly authorized, and could only be obtained by Mr. Henry's application in person, on his return to Milan on the 22nd of October, when it was too late. This continual and vexatious occupation at Milan, rendered it impossible for Mr. Henry to leave that place for the Roman States, before the 22nd of September, although his presence there was absolutely necessary, from the refusal of that Government to grant passports, or leave of absence for the *Employés* ; and thus the greatest part of her Majesty's defence from that quarter was lost.

The question with respect to the *Employés* in the Austrian service, whom her Majesty had thought proper to invite as witnesses, from the circumstance of having, during her residence at the Villa D'Este, been more in her company and about her person, was after much official but ineffectual correspondence on the subject, between Milan and Vienna, decided by its being declared by his Highness Prince Metternich, in his letter, dated from Troppau, 28th October, to Lord Stewart, that his Imperial Majesty's determination not "to permit his officers to wear their uniforms in England, lest after the example at Dover,\* they "might be insulted" was irrevocable. This qualification of the passports of the *Employés*, which extended to the robes of the professors, had the effect of depriving her Majesty of the whole of this most important and valuable evidence from the Austrian States.

After despatching several witnesses from Milan, which Mr. Henry was not able to accomplish, owing to the impediments which were created by the Austrian Government and Lord Stewart, before the 20th of September, and having arranged with Mr. James Brougham and Signor Codazzi, to remain there during his absence, Mr. Henry left Milan for the Roman states on the 22nd of September. On his arrival at Pesaro, he found that the Papal Government made no difficulty whatever in granting passports to her Majesty's witnesses,

\* This referred to the improper treatment of some of the witnesses for the prosecution, by the populace at Dover.

except with respect to the *Employés* which to them were refused, for the reasons stated in the following letter of Cardinal Consalvi, to the Count Belluzzi.

“ Most illustrious Signor,

“ I have received your letter, of the 3rd inst. in which (after enclosing me a copy of the letter, directed to you by her Majesty the Queen of England, inviting you to repair to London, in order to be an evidence in the cause for her Majesty), you inform me of your determination, not to reply until you know the wish of the Government, as you are in the honourable situation of Major of the Provincial Troops; and you ask of me immediately an answer, and permission. In compliance with your request, I beg to inform you, that the Pope, far from putting an obstacle in the way of that which may assist in the administration of justice, leaves to those amongst his subjects, who, according to the invitation of her Majesty the Queen, wish to repair to England, full liberty to do so. But whenever, with respect to the Pontifical subjects, some by their business are obliged to remain in the dominions, His Holiness thinks that under the circumstances of the political events, which have taken place so near the States of his Holiness, circumstances under which the Government, relies on the fidelity and capacity of those employed by it, it is not possible to permit them to leave their post; this, besides, cannot prejudice any one, since

when the depositions of the Pontifical subjects, employed in the service of the State, shall appear necessary, their examination can be easily taken in the place of their abode, according to the usual method practised by the English tribunals.

“ These are the rules which his Holiness has laid down, under the circumstances of this case, and which have already been communicated by me to other persons, employed and not employed by the Government, who have received from the Queen of England, the same invitation which has been directed to you, and who have asked for their guidance the wishes of the Government.”

“ I renew to you the sentiments of my very sincere esteem.

“ I am, of your illustrious Signor, the servant,

“ E. CARD. CONSALVI.”

*Rome, 16th Sept. 1820.*

This communication rendered it necessary for Mr. Henry to proceed immediately to Rome, in order to remove such difficulty, if possible in time.

For this purpose, he waited on Cardinal Consalvi, and presented him a letter from Lord Castlereagh, dated Downing Street, September 19th, requesting his Eminence to recognize him as her Majesty's Agent, in Italy, to the effect of granting him passports; and on such representations he promised to recommend to his Holiness, notwithstanding the present critical position of affairs in Italy, to grant leave of absence and passports, for all the *Employés* in the Roman States, whether

military or civil, whom Mr. Henry should deem it necessary to invite as witnesses. This was accordingly done the next morning, and a circular letter of the most liberal and unequivocal tenor, was addressed by his Eminence to the Governors of the different Provinces, directing them to grant the passports immediately, assuring the *Employés* of the continuance of their pay in their absence, so long as the British Parliament might require their attendance. This facility, however, came too late, owing partly to the late date of Lord Castlereagh's letter on this subject, September 18th, and also, to the time and preparations, which, with many other arrangements, were necessary for the departure of the witnesses, several of whom were old and infirm, and requiring consideration to their personal convenience, and mode of travelling.

Nor were the exertions of Signor Ferraresi, as Agent to Mr. Henry, at Trieste, Venice, and other places, to collect evidence for her Majesty's defence, attended with more success.

On the arrival of Signor Ferraresi, at Trieste, he presented himself before the Commissioners of Police, to have an attestation of the day of the arrival and departure of her Majesty, and this, according to the register, daily kept by the Police of every city. This application he made to the Commissary, verbally, and he referred him to Doctor Catani, Director General of Police, in Trieste. To him he applied, but he required that his demand should be made in writing, and with that direction he complied. He presented it in

person, to Doctor Catani, and was personally informed, that he had passed the demand to the Governor, and hoped soon to have an answer; and after making repeated applications, and being detained three days, the attestation was refused. Thus deprived of the document required, he was compelled to have recourse to the expedient of retracing the date of the arrival of her Majesty. The inn-keeper acquainted him with the person who kept the books of the Consegna; but he said, he had not got them, but took the trouble to go to the Police, from whom he found that the Princess had only staid from the 15th of April, 1817, to the 16th; that she arrived at noon, and departed the 16th, that is to say, the day following, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and of this he made a simple note. When he ascertained the day of the month and year, he procured the Trieste Gazettes (stamped with the Government seal) of those days; a document which could not but be authentic, and, therefore, valid in every State and tribunal.

From such observations, and from the documents in Appendix No. II. it will be perceived, that the Police in the different Governments, under the several Austrian States of Lombardy, took some part in the proceedings already referred to.

On these facts, which have been thus impartially stated, and which have been collected from some of the friends of her Majesty, from the statements of Mr. Henry and of the Counsel for

the Queen, it must be unnecessary to offer any observations. Those facts must be the subject of universal regret to every honourable mind, since to a full, fair, and impartial hearing, the Queen was unquestionably entitled, and this hearing she could not obtain, when witnesses were prevented from attending on her behalf.

But to return.

During the recess which occurred in the House of Lords, for the purpose of enabling the Attorney-General to prepare his case against the Queen, it was hoped that it was not too late to adjust the differences between the Royal parties, and that some arrangement might even then be made; but the publication of the following letter from her Majesty to the King, demonstrated the fallacy of such expectations. That letter, though long, is important, and its insertion is, therefore, essential for the completeness of history.

#### TO THE KING.

SIR,

“ After the unparalleled and unprovoked persecution which, during a series of years, has  
 “ been carried on against me under the name and  
 “ authority of your Majesty—and which persecution, instead of being mollified by time, time  
 “ has rendered only more and more malignant  
 “ and unrelenting—it is not without a great sacrifice of private feeling, that I now, even in  
 “ the way of remonstrance, bring myself to ad-

“ dress this letter to your Majesty. But, bearing  
 “ in mind that Royalty rests on the basis of  
 “ public good; that to this paramount considera-  
 “ tion all others ought to submit; and aware of  
 “ the consequences that may result from the  
 “ present unconstitutional, illegal, and, hitherto,  
 “ unheard-of proceedings;—with a mind thus  
 “ impressed, I cannot refrain from laying my  
 “ grievous wrongs once more before your Majesty,  
 “ in the hope that the justice which your Majesty  
 “ may, by evil-minded Counsellors, be still dis-  
 “ posed to refuse to the claims of a dutiful, faith-  
 “ ful, and injured wife, you may be induced to  
 “ yield to considerations connected with the ho-  
 “ nour and dignity of your Crown, the stability  
 “ of your throne, the tranquillity of your domi-  
 “ nions, the happiness and safety of your just and  
 “ loyal people, whose generous hearts revolt at  
 “ oppression and cruelty, and especially when  
 “ perpetrated by a perversion and a mockery of  
 “ the laws.

“ A sense of what is due to my character and  
 “ sex, forbids me to refer minutely to the real  
 “ causes of our domestic separation, or to the  
 “ numerous unmerited insults offered me pre-  
 “ viously to that period; but leaving to your  
 “ Majesty to reconcile with the marriage vow,  
 “ the act of driving by such means, a wife from  
 “ beneath your roof, with an infant in her arms,  
 “ your Majesty will permit me to remind you,  
 “ that that act was entirely your own; that the  
 “ separation so far from being sought for by me,

“ was a sentence pronounced upon me, without  
 “ any cause assigned, other than that of your  
 “ own inclinations, which, as your Majesty was  
 “ pleased to say, were not under your control.

“ Not to have felt, with regard to myself, cha-  
 “ grin at this decision of your Majesty, would  
 “ have argued great insensibility to the obligations  
 “ of decorum ; not to have dropped a tear in the  
 “ face of that beloved child, whose future sorrows  
 “ were then but too easy to foresee, would have  
 “ marked me as unworthy of the name of mother ;  
 “ but not to have submitted to it without repin-  
 “ ing, would have indicated a consciousness of  
 “ demerit, or a want of those feelings which be-  
 “ long to affronted and insulted female honour.

“ The ‘tranquil and comfortable society’ ten-  
 “ dered to me by your Majesty, formed, in my  
 “ mind, but a poor compensation for the grief  
 “ occasioned, by considering the wound given to  
 “ public morals in the fatal example produced by  
 “ the indulgence of your Majesty’s inclinations ;  
 “ more especially when I contemplated the disap-  
 “ pointment of the nation, who had so munifi-  
 “ cently provided for our union, who had fondly  
 “ cherished such pleasing hopes of happiness  
 “ arising from that union, and who had hailed it  
 “ with such affectionate and rapturous joy.

“ But, alas ! even tranquillity and comfort  
 “ were too much for me to enjoy. From the very  
 “ threshold of your Majesty’s mansion, the mother  
 “ of your child was pursued by spies, conspira-  
 “ tors, and traitors, employed, encouraged, and

“ rewarded, to lay snares for the feet, and to plot  
 “ against the reputation and life, of her whom  
 “ your Majesty had so recently and so solemnly  
 “ vowed to honour, to love, and to cherish.

“ In withdrawing from the embraces of my  
 “ parents, in giving my hand to the son of George  
 “ the Third, and the Heir-apparent to the British  
 “ throne, nothing less than a voice from Heaven  
 “ would have made me fear injustice or wrong of  
 “ any kind. What, then, was my astonishment  
 “ at finding that treasons against me had been  
 “ carried on and matured, perjuries against me  
 “ had been methodised and embodied, a secret  
 “ tribunal had been held, a trial of my actions had  
 “ taken place, and a decision had been made  
 “ upon those actions, without my having been  
 “ informed of the nature of the charge, or of the  
 “ names of the witnesses? and what words can  
 “ express the feelings excited by the fact, that  
 “ this proceeding was founded on a request made,  
 “ and on evidence furnished, by order of the  
 “ father of my child, and my natural as well as  
 “ legal guardian and protector?

“ Notwithstanding, however, the unprecedented  
 “ conduct of that tribunal—conduct which has  
 “ since undergone, even in Parliament, severe  
 “ and unanswered animadversions, and which has  
 “ been also censured in minutes of the Privy  
 “ Council—notwithstanding the secrecy of the  
 “ proceedings of this tribunal—notwithstanding  
 “ the strong temptation to the giving of false  
 “ evidence against me before it—notwithstanding

“ that there was no opportunity offered me of re-  
 “ butting that evidence—notwithstanding all these  
 “ circumstances, so decidedly favourable to my  
 “ enemies—even this secret tribunal acquitted  
 “ me of all crime, and thereby pronounced my  
 “ principal accusers to have been guilty of the  
 “ grossest perjury. But it was now (after the  
 “ trial was over) discovered, that the nature of  
 “ the tribunal was such as to render false swear-  
 “ ing before it, *not legally criminal!* And thus,  
 “ at the suggestion and request of your Majesty,  
 “ had been erected, to take cognizance of, and  
 “ try my conduct, a tribunal competent to ad-  
 “ minister oaths, competent to examine witnesses  
 “ on oath, competent to try, competent to acquit  
 “ or condemn, and, competent, moreover, to  
 “ screen those who had sworn falsely against me,  
 “ from suffering the pains and penalties which  
 “ the law awards to wilful and corrupt perjury.  
 “ Great as my indignation naturally must have  
 “ been at this shameful evasion of law and justice,  
 “ that indignation was lost in pity for him, who  
 “ could lower his princely plumes to the dust by  
 “ giving his countenance and favour to the most  
 “ conspicuous of those abandoned and notorious  
 “ perjurers.

“ Still there was one whose upright mind  
 “ nothing could warp, in whose breast injustice  
 “ never found a place, whose hand was always  
 “ ready to raise the unfortunate, and to rescue  
 “ the oppressed. While that good and gracious  
 “ father and Sovereign remained in the exercise  
 “ of his Royal functions, his unoffending daughter-

“ in-law had nothing to fear. As long as the pro-  
 “ tecting hand of your late ever-beloved and ever-  
 “ lamented father was held over me, I was safe.  
 “ But the melancholy event which deprived the  
 “ nation of the active exertions of its virtuous  
 “ King, bereft me of friend and protector, and of  
 “ all hope of future tranquillity and safety. To  
 “ calumniate your innocent wife, was now the  
 “ shortest road to Royal favour; and to betray  
 “ her was to lay the sure foundation of boundless  
 “ riches and titles of honour. Before claims like  
 “ these, talent, virtue, long services, your own  
 “ personal friendships, your Royal engagements,  
 “ promises, and pledges, written as well as  
 “ verbal, melted into air. Your Cabinet was  
 “ founded on this basis. You took to your  
 “ Councils men, of whose persons, as well as  
 “ whose principles you had invariably expressed  
 “ the strongest dislike. The interest of the  
 “ nation, and even your own feelings, in all other  
 “ respects, were sacrificed to the gratification of  
 “ your desire to aggravate my sufferings, and  
 “ ensure my humiliation. You took to your  
 “ councils and your bosom men whom you hated,  
 “ whose abandonment of, and whose readiness  
 “ to sacrifice me were their only merits, and  
 “ whose power has been exercised in a manner,  
 “ and has been attended with consequences,  
 “ worthy of its origin. From this unprincipled  
 “ and unnatural union have sprung the manifold  
 “ evils which this nation has now to endure, and  
 “ which present a mass of misery and of degra-

ried with acts of tyranny and have seen which inflicted faithful, and brave people, would have perished at the people.

calumniate, revile, and betray me, sure path to honour and riches, it has been strange indeed if calumniators, and traitors, had not abounded. Your became much less a scene of polished manners and refined intercourse, than that of intrigue and scurrility. Spies, Bacchanalian tale-bearers, and foul conspirators, swarmed in those places which had before been the resort of sobriety, virtue, and honour.

“ To enumerate all the various privations and  
 “ mortifications which I had to endure—all the  
 “ insults that were wantonly heaped upon me,  
 “ from the day of your elevation to the Regency  
 “ to that of my departure for the Continent—  
 “ would be to describe every species of personal  
 “ offence that can be offered to, and every pain  
 “ short of bodily violence that can be inflicted on,  
 “ any human being. Bereft of parent, brother,  
 “ and father-in-law, and my husband for my  
 “ deadliest foe; seeing those who have promised  
 “ me support, bought by rewards to be amongst  
 “ my enemies; restrained from accusing my foes  
 “ in the face of the world, out of regard for the  
 “ character of the father of my child, and from  
 “ a desire to prevent her happiness from being  
 “ disturbed; shunned from motives of selfishness,

“ by those who were my natural associates ;  
 “ living in obscurity, while I ought to have been  
 “ the centre of all that was splendid ; thus  
 “ humbled, I had one consolation left—the love  
 “ of my dear and only child. To permit me to  
 “ enjoy this was too great an indulgence. To see  
 “ my daughter ; to fold her in my arms ; to mingle  
 “ my tears with hers ; to receive her cheering  
 “ caresses, and to hear from her lips assurances  
 “ of never-ceasing love ;—thus to be comforted,  
 “ consoled, upheld, and blessed, was too much  
 “ to be allowed me. Even on the slave mart,  
 “ the cries of ‘ Oh ! my mother, my mother !  
 “ Oh ! my child, my child ! ’ have prevented a  
 “ separation of the victims of avarice. But your  
 “ advisers, more inhuman than the slave dealers,  
 “ remorselessly tore the mother from the child.

“ Thus bereft of the society of my child, or  
 “ reduced to the necessity of embittering her life  
 “ by struggles to preserve that society, I resolved  
 “ on a temporary absence, in the hope that time  
 “ might restore me to her in happier days. Those  
 “ days, alas ! were never to come. To mothers—  
 “ and those mothers who have been suddenly  
 “ bereft of the best and most affectionate and  
 “ only daughters—it belongs to estimate my sufferings  
 “ and my wrongs. Such mothers will  
 “ judge of my affliction upon hearing of the death  
 “ of my child, and upon my calling to recollection  
 “ the last look, the last words, and all the  
 “ affecting circumstances of our separation.  
 “ Such mothers will see the depth of my sorrows.

“ Every being with a heart of humanity in its  
 “ bosom, will drop a tear of sympathy with me.  
 “ And will not the world, then, learn with indig-  
 “ nation, that this event, calculated to soften the  
 “ hardest heart, was the signal for new conspi-  
 “ racies, and indefatigable efforts for the destruc-  
 “ tion of this afflicted mother? Your Majesty  
 “ had torn my child from me; you had deprived  
 “ me of the power of being at hand to succour  
 “ her; you had taken from me the possibility of  
 “ hearing of her last prayers for her mother; you  
 “ saw me, bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted;  
 “ and this was the moment you chose for re-  
 “ doubling your persecutions.

“ Let the world pass its judgment on the con-  
 “ stituting of a commission, in a foreign country,  
 “ consisting of inquisitors, spies, and informers,  
 “ to discover, collect, and arrange matters of  
 “ accusation against your wife, without any com-  
 “ plaint having been communicated to her: let  
 “ the world judge of the employment of ambas-  
 “ sadors in such a business, and of the enlisting  
 “ of foreign Courts in the enterprize: but on the  
 “ measures which have been adopted to give final  
 “ effect to these preliminary proceedings, it is for  
 “ me to speak; it is for me to remonstrate with  
 “ your Majesty; it is for me to protest; it is for  
 “ me to apprise you of my determination.

“ I have always demanded a *fair trial*. This is  
 “ what I now demand, and this is refused me.  
 “ Instead of a fair trial, I am to be subjected to  
 “ a sentence by the Parliament, passed in the

“ shape of a *law*. Against this I protest, and  
 “ upon the following grounds :—

“ The injustice of refusing me a clear and  
 “ distinct charge, of refusing me the names of the  
 “ witnesses, of refusing me the names of the  
 “ places, where the alleged acts have been com-  
 “ mitted ; these are sufficiently flagrant and re-  
 “ volting ; but it is against the *constitution of the*  
 “ *Court itself*, that I particularly object, and  
 “ against that I most solemnly protest.

“ Whatever may be the precedents as to Bills  
 “ of Pains and Penalties, none of them, except  
 “ those relating to the Queen of Henry the  
 “ Eighth, can apply here ; for here your Majesty  
 “ is the *plaintiff*.

“ Here it is intended by the Bill to do you  
 “ what you deem *good*, and to do *me great harm*.  
 “ You are, therefore, a party, and the only com-  
 “ plaining party.

“ You have made your complaint to the House  
 “ of Lords. You have conveyed to this House  
 “ written documents sealed up. A Secret Com-  
 “ mittee of the House have examined these docu-  
 “ ments. They have reported that there are  
 “ grounds of proceeding ; and then the House,  
 “ merely upon that Report, have brought forward  
 “ a Bill containing the most outrageous slanders  
 “ on me, and sentencing me to divorce and  
 “ degradation.

“ The injustice of putting forth this Bill to the  
 “ world, for six weeks, before it is even proposed  
 “ to afford me an opportunity of contradicting

“ its allegations, is too manifest not to have  
 “ shocked the nation; and, indeed, the proceed-  
 “ ings even thus far, are such as to convince  
 “ every one, that no justice is intended me. But  
 “ if none of these proceedings, if none of these  
 “ clear indications of a determination to do me  
 “ wrong had taken place, I should see, in the  
 “ constitution of the House of Lords itself, a  
 “ certainty that I could expect no justice at its  
 “ hands.

“ Your Majesty’s Ministers have *advised* this  
 “ prosecution: they are responsible for the advice  
 “ they give; they are liable to *punishment* if they  
 “ fail to make good their charges; and not only  
 “ are they part of my *judges*, but it is they who  
 “ have *brought in the Bill*; and it is too notorious  
 “ that they have *always a majority* in the House;  
 “ so that, without any other, here is ample proof  
 “ that the House will decide in favour of the Bill,  
 “ and of course, against me.

“ But further, there are reasons for your Minis-  
 “ ters having a majority in this case, and which  
 “ reasons do not apply to common cases. Your  
 “ Majesty is the *plaintiff*: to you it belongs to ap-  
 “ point and to elevate Peers. Many of the present  
 “ Peers have been raised to that dignity by your-  
 “ self, and almost the whole can be at your will  
 “ and pleasure, further elevated. The far greater  
 “ part of the Peers, hold by themselves and their  
 “ families, offices, pensions and other emoluments,  
 “ solely at the will and pleasure of your Majesty,  
 “ and these, of course, your Majesty can take

“ away whenever you please. There are more  
 “ than *four-fifths* of the Peers in this situation,  
 “ and there are many of them who might thus be  
 “ deprived of the far better part of their incomes.

“ If, contrary to all expectation, there should  
 “ be found, in some Peers, likely to amount to a  
 “ majority, a disposition to reject the Bill, some  
 “ of these Peers may be ordered away to their  
 “ ships, regiments, governments, and other duties;  
 “ and, which is an equally alarming power, new  
 “ Peers may be created for the purpose, and give  
 “ their vote in the decision. That your Majesty’s  
 “ Ministers would advise these measures, if found  
 “ necessary to render their prosecution success-  
 “ ful, there can be very little doubt, seeing that  
 “ they have hitherto stopped at nothing, however  
 “ unjust, or odious.

“ To regard such a body as a *Court of Justice*,  
 “ would be to calumniate that sacred name; and  
 “ for me to suppress an expression of my opinion  
 “ on the subject, would be tacitly to lend myself  
 “ to my own destruction, as well as to an im-  
 “ position upon the nation, and the world.

“ In the House of Commons, I can discover no  
 “ better grounds of security. The power of  
 “ your Majesty’s Ministers is the same in both  
 “ Houses; and your Majesty is well acquainted  
 “ with the fact, that a majority of the House is  
 “ composed of persons placed in it by the Peers,  
 “ and by your Majesty’s Treasury.

“ It really gives me pain to state these things  
 “ to your Majesty; and, if it gives your Majesty

“ pain, I beg that it may be observed, and re-  
 “ membered, that the statement has been forced  
 “ from me. I must either protest against this  
 “ mode of trial, or, by tacitly consenting to it,  
 “ suffer my honour to be sacrificed. No in-  
 “ nocence can secure the accused, if the Judges  
 “ and the Jurors be chosen by the accuser; and  
 “ if I were tacitly to submit to a tribunal of this  
 “ description, I should be instrumental in my  
 “ own dishonour.

“ On these grounds, I protest against this  
 “ species of trial. I demand a trial in a Court  
 “ where the Jurors are taken impartially from  
 “ amongst the people, and where the proceedings  
 “ are open and fair. Such a trial I court, and to  
 “ no other will I willingly submit. If your  
 “ Majesty persevere in the present proceeding, I  
 “ shall, even in the Houses of Parliament, face  
 “ my accusers; but I shall regard any decision  
 “ they may make against me, as not, in the  
 “ smallest degree, reflecting on my honour; and  
 “ I will not, except compelled by actual force,  
 “ submit to any sentence, which shall not be  
 “ pronounced by a *Court of Justice*.

“ I have now frankly laid before your Majesty  
 “ a statement of my wrongs, and a declaration of  
 “ my views and intentions. You have cast upon  
 “ me every slur to which the female character is  
 “ liable. Instead of loving, honouring, and  
 “ cherishing me, agreeably to your solemn vow,  
 “ you have pursued me with hatred and scorn,  
 “ and with all the means of destruction. You

" You wrested from me my child, and with her  
 " my only comfort and consolation. You sent  
 " me sorrowing through the world, and even in  
 " my sorrows pursued me with unrelenting per-  
 " secution. Having left me nothing but my  
 " innocence, you would now, by a mockery of  
 " justice, deprive me even of the reputation of  
 " possessing that. The poisoned bowl and the  
 " poignard are means more manly than perjured  
 " witnesses and partial tribunals; and they are  
 " less cruel, inasmuch as life is less valuable than  
 " honour. If my life would have satisfied your  
 " Majesty, you should have had it, on the sole  
 " condition, of giving me a place in the same  
 " tomb with my child: but, since you would  
 " send me dishonoured to the grave, I will resist  
 " the attempt, with all the means that it shall  
 " please God to give me.

(Signed)

" CAROLINE R."

*" Brandenburg House, August 7, 1820."*

This letter was printed—circulated universally  
 through the nation—posted as a placard against  
 every wall in the metropolis; and it excited feel-  
 ings of pity, interest, and regret, which it would  
 not be very easy to describe. Its publication  
 gave not, however, universal satisfaction; and the  
 boldness of its statements—the personal attacks  
 which it contained on the chief Magistrate of the  
 country—and above all the observations which it  
 made respecting both Houses of Parliament, were

the topics which were most censured by the moderate party in the nation.

On the 17th of August the House of Lords assembled. The anxiety of the people, the attachment of multitudes to her Majesty—and their detestation of the Bill of Pains and Penalties—can only be fully appreciated by those who witnessed the manner in which she was received, by the countless numbers who crowded every avenue which commanded a view of her passage to the House of Lords.

The Earl of Liverpool moved, that the order of the day for the second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties should be read, and which resolution was adopted. The Attorney and Solicitor General for her Majesty, then addressed the House against the principle of the Bill, and the King's Solicitor General was heard in reply.

Of the speeches of the Queen's Counsel, no analysis can even be here presented, though the strength of their arguments, the eloquence of their orations, and the research and zeal which they displayed, demand eulogiums the most ardent and sincere. Nor should it be omitted, that the King's Solicitor General, during the whole trial evinced considerable knowledge, prudence and firmness; and conducted the cause with great propriety.

The House then adjourned; and on the 19th of August reassembled, when, after some discussion, during which Lord King and Earl Grey in vain attempted to procure the rejection of the Bill in

the present stage, the Attorney General was directed to state the charges against her Majesty.

For the purpose of giving an unbroken narrative of the proceedings in the House of Lords, some circumstances have not been noticed in the order in which they occurred: but to them it is now necessary to refer.

The consideration of the King's message to the House of Commons was postponed, for the purpose of learning the fate of the Bill in the Upper House; with the understanding, that if it failed there, no proceedings should take place in the House of Commons.

Soon after the arrival of her Majesty in England, addresses of condolence on the loss of her daughter were presented, and expressive of the ardent attachment of the addressers and their decided disapprobation of the proceedings now adopted against her. To give any detailed account of these addresses, or of the nature of their presentation would be unnecessary and improper. The following, however, is a list of those which were presented previously to the commencement of the trial. Further lists after that period will appear in a subsequent part of this work. The following is the list referred to:

Common Council of London, York, Nottingham, Preston, Livery of London, Borough of Southwark, Westminster, Shaftesbury, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Bedford, Newbury, Poole, Nottingham (females), Rochester, Morpeth, Ilchester, Sunderland, Lewes, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Hexham, Canter-

bury, Norwich, Middlesex, Mechanics of the Metropolis, Parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch, Hammersmith, Privates of the Leicester Militia, Married Ladies of the Metropolis, Greenwich, and Aylesbury.

At this period in the history of these proceedings, it may not be improper to notice, that the almost innumerable addresses presented to her Majesty, the processions which took place on their presentation, and the mobs which they collected, tended very materially to express the feelings of the nation as to the Bill of Pains and Penalties; and, confessedly, to induce its withdrawal by the very minister who introduced it. Connected with such addresses were public meetings of parishes, hundreds, and counties; and scarcely a public company or corporation existed, which did not also join in such measures. The higher classes of Society, indeed, did not generally connect themselves with these proceedings, but many exceptions, unquestionably, occurred even to that rule.

To the consideration of the proceedings in the House of Lords, it is now necessary to return. Prior, however, to the resumption of the narrative it should be noticed, that the witnesses for the prosecution were lodged in a place called Cotton Garden, which had the double advantage of privacy, and immediate contiguity to the House of Lords. To this place they were brought, in the night, in a boat rowed with muffled oars,

and all access to them was carefully prevented. The examined, the half-examined, and the unexamined witnesses were constantly together, thereby affording them an opportunity of concerting and arranging their evidence, ill according with that fair and impartial investigation which the case of her Majesty should have received.

On the 19th of August the Attorney General commenced his statement of the charges brought against her Majesty, which he concluded on the 22nd : and then proceeded to call the witnesses, for the prosecution. An Analysis of such charges, of the evidence for the Crown, of the defence of her Majesty, and of the testimony of her witnesses will be hereafter presented ; and on such charges and evidence it will, therefore, be here unnecessary to offer any observations.

Shortly after the Attorney-General closed his speech, the Queen entered the House, attended by Lady Ann Hamilton, and took a chair within the bar of the House. On her entrance, THEODORE MAJOCCHI, the first witness, was ushered into the House, and placed before the bar ; when her Majesty, having fixed her eyes upon him, exclaimed, in a piercing tone, "Theodore! oh, no, no!" and was immediately conducted to a private apartment. This exclamation excited much attention, and various deductions were consequently made. By some it was urged, that it required but a slight knowledge of human nature to enable any one to determine, that the exclamation was induced by feelings of anger and dis-

bury, Norwich, Middlesex, Mechanics of the Metropolis, Parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch, Hammersmith, Privates of the Leicester Militia, Married Ladies of the Metropolis, Greenwich, and Aylesbury.

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“ that they should be at liberty to apply for permission to the House to have any witness called back for re-examination, on any new facts or circumstances, respecting such witness, coming to their knowledge.”

It was remarkable, that, on this question, Ministers differed; the Earl of Liverpool and the Earl of Harrowby supporting the motion, and the Lord Chancellor opposing it.

On the 6th of September, the Attorney-General made a special application to the House, of some importance. He stated, that three of his witnesses having advanced to Beauvais, on hearing reports, that other witnesses, on their way to London, had been extremely ill-treated at Dover, alarmed for their personal safety, had returned home. Letters, he however added, had been received, stating a confident expectation, that the witnesses, having altered their determination, would set out, on the 29th of August, for England. In a few days, they were expected to arrive; and, under these circumstances, he requested a short delay in the proceedings.

Mr. Brougham resisted the application on the ground that the prosecutor for years had been engaged in preparing his case—that the Attorney-General had been warned not to commence proceedings until he was perfectly prepared—that at another period he had obtained a delay of three weeks before the opening of his case, contrary to the wishes of her Majesty, and that this delay

was granted on the distinct understanding that on the 17th of August he would be fully prepared to proceed without interruption, to the conclusion of this case.

On the propriety of such application a discussion of some importance ensued, when the House adjourned to the following day, when it again assembled. The Attorney-General, however, stated, that within the last half hour he had received letters from Milan, by which it appeared that a longer delay must take place than he had anticipated, before those witnesses could arrive, and, therefore, he should consent to withdraw his application.

The examination of witnesses for the prosecution having now closed, the Solicitor-General proceeded to sum up the evidence. Mr. Brougham then requested to be allowed to comment on the case already made out, pledging himself, in the course of that comment, not to describe, or even to allude to the particulars of any statement of evidence which her Majesty might be advised to bring forward, in contradiction to those charges. On this application a debate occurred which terminated in a resolution made by the House, that he could not be allowed to make such comment, unless he proposed *immediately* to follow it by the evidence he intended to adduce for the defence. Mr. Brougham stated, that he must confer with the other Counsel for her Majesty, respecting the course he should adopt, and the House was adjourned to the following day, to receive his reply.

When the House reassembled, Mr. Brougham stated his intention not to pursue the path which had been indicated, and having thus decided, the question of adjournment alone remained to be discussed. At the request of Mr. Brougham, however, it was eventually resolved to adjourn from September the 9th, to October 3d. The Queen was averse to so long a delay, and said, "that three days would be sufficient to prepare for her defence." She judiciously regretted that the charges made against her should be left to operate on the public mind, during so long an interval, without even being counteracted by the observations of her Counsel. That delay was, however, unavoidable; her legal advisers deemed it necessary; and she submitted to their decisions.

The interval which occurred was devoted to analyzing the case—and to obtaining evidence and documents for the defence. Such evidence and documents, as it has been already explained, were obtained with great difficulty, and many witnesses and papers arrived too late to be submitted to the House of Peers. This was peculiarly unfortunate, since their importance has been already stated, and is abundantly proved in Appendix, No. II.

The private history of her Majesty during this interval which so elapsed will hereafter be supplied, in order that the proceedings in the House of Lords may be presented in a continuous history. Yet one circumstance may be here with pro-

priety referred to. The efforts of the PUBLIC PRESS on her behalf, during this period, and indeed, from her first landing at Dover, to her premature death, were as unexampled as they were successful. During more than *twelve months* THE TIMES newspaper, which has long been considered throughout the world, as the principal daily journal of this country, advocated her cause with a zeal, ability, and success, which have never been equalled, and which cannot be surpassed. Perused in almost every hamlet of the kingdom, and by all political and religious parties, and conducted on independent and liberal principles, it is the Gazette for the merchant, and the agriculturist, the journal for the man of science, and the newspaper for the politician and the statesman. It is generally the first to communicate every species of intelligence, and its accuracy is so undoubted that any communication from the Editors is relied on as correct. Its politics are peculiar. It is the organ of no party. It deprecates in each that which is improper, and though it has been for some time generally opposed to the acts of the present Administration, it frequently censures the extravagances and inconsistencies of some who are also opposed to it. The influence of this journal is past calculation, and its efforts on behalf of the Queen are universally allowed materially to have assisted in producing the withdrawal of the Bill.

On the 3d of October the House of Lords re-assembled, and after some conversation on the case of Mr. Mariette, a respectable foreign mer-

chant, (who was supposed to have been threatened with the operation of the Alien Act, for interesting himself on behalf of the Queen) and a discussion on the expenses of the proceedings against her Majesty; counsel were ordered to be called in, and Mr. Brougham commenced his address, which occupied him two days to deliver.

Those only who listened to this oration can form an adequate idea of its splendour and dignity. Though solely reported in newspapers, its beauties were as evident as its effect was surprising. To transcribe part of this address may be regarded as a species of literary sacrilege. Yet so just and appropriate is the following summary of the trials to which her Majesty had been successively exposed, that it is copied into these pages, for the purpose of presenting a condensed view of her sufferings, notwithstanding the injustice which is thereby done to Mr. Brougham's oratory, by presenting one of his figures detached from its appropriate groupe.

“ It was always her (the Queen's) sad fate, to  
 “ lose her best stay, her strongest and surest  
 “ protector, when danger threatened her, and by  
 “ a coincidence most miraculous, in her eventful  
 “ history, not one of her intrepid defenders was  
 “ ever withdrawn from her without that loss being  
 “ the immediate signal for the renewal of mo-  
 “ mentous attacks upon her honour and life. Mr.  
 “ Pitt, who had been her constant friend and  
 “ protector, died in 1806. A few weeks after that  
 “ event took place, the first attack was levelled

“ at her. Mr. Pitt left her, as a legacy, to Mr.  
 “ Percival, who became her best, her most un-  
 “ daunted, her firmest protector. But no sooner  
 “ had the hand of an assassin laid prostrate that  
 “ Minister, than her Royal Highness felt the force  
 “ of the blow, by the commencement of a re-  
 “ newed attack, though she had but just been  
 “ borne through the last by Mr. Percival’s skilful  
 “ and powerful defence of her character. Mr.  
 “ Whitbread then undertook her protection, but  
 “ soon that melancholy catastrophe happened which  
 “ all good men, of every political party in the State,  
 “ he believed, sincerely and universally lamented.  
 “ Then came with Mr. Whitbread’s dreadful loss,  
 “ the murmuring of that storm which was so soon  
 “ to burst, with all its tempestuous fury, upon  
 “ her hapless and devoted head. Her child still  
 “ loved, and was her friend,—her enemies were  
 “ afraid to strike, for they, in the wisdom of the  
 “ world, worshipped the rising sun. But when  
 “ she lost that amiable and beloved daughter, she  
 “ had no protector; her enemies had nothing to  
 “ dread; innocent or guilty there was no hope;  
 “ and she yielded to the intreaty of those who  
 “ advised her residence out of this country.  
 “ Who, indeed, could love persecution so stead-  
 “ fastly, as to stay and brave its renewal and  
 “ continuance, and harass the feelings of the only  
 “ one she loved dearly, by combating such  
 “ repeated attacks, which were still reiterated  
 “ after the record of the fullest acquittal? It was,  
 “ however, reserved for the Milan Commission,

“to concentrate and condense all the threatening  
 “clouds which were prepared to burst upon her  
 “ill-fated head: and, as if it were utterly im-  
 “possible that the Queen could lose a single  
 “protector without the loss being instantaneously  
 “followed by the commencement of some im-  
 “portant step against her, the same day which  
 “saw the remains of her venerable Sovereign  
 “entombed—of that beloved Sovereign who was  
 “from the outset, her constant father and friend,  
 “that same sun which shone upon the Monarch’s  
 “tomb, ushered into the palace of his illustrious  
 “son and successor, one of the perjured wit-  
 “nesses, who was brought over to depose against  
 “her Majesty’s life.”

Nor should the following bold, yet correct and,  
 indeed, inimitable peroration to this incomparable  
 speech be omitted.

“Such, my Lords,” said Mr. Brougham, “is  
 “the case now before you, and such is the evi-  
 “dence by which it is attempted to be upheld.  
 “It is evidence—inadequate, to prove any propo-  
 “sition; impotent, to deprive the lowest subject  
 “of any civil right; ridiculous, to establish the  
 “least offence; scandalous, to support a charge  
 “of the highest nature; monstrous, to ruin the  
 “honour of the Queen of England. What shall  
 “I say of it, then, as evidence to support a  
 “judicial act of legislature, an *ex-post facto* law?  
 “My Lords, I call upon you to pause. You  
 “stand on the brink of a precipice. If your  
 “judgment shall go out against your Queen, it

“ will be the only act that ever went out without  
 “ effecting its purpose ; it will return to you  
 “ upon your own heads. Save the country—  
 “ save yourselves. Rescue the country ; save  
 “ the people, of whom you are the ornaments ;  
 “ but, severed from whom, you can no more live  
 “ than the blossom that is severed from the root  
 “ and tree on which it grows. Save the country,  
 “ therefore, that you may continue to adorn it—  
 “ save the crown, which is threatened with irre-  
 “ parable injury—save the aristocracy, which is  
 “ surrounded with danger—save the altar, which  
 “ is no longer safe when its kindred throne is  
 “ shaken. You see that when the church and  
 “ the throne would allow of no church solemnity  
 “ in behalf of the Queen, the heart-felt prayers  
 “ of the people rose to Heaven for her protection.  
 “ I pray Heaven for her ; and I here pour forth  
 “ my fervent supplications at the throne of mercy,  
 “ that mercies may descend on the people of this  
 “ country, richer than their rulers have deserved,  
 “ and that your hearts may be turned to justice.”

Mr. Williams, followed on the same side, and  
 with great ability presented a digest of a consi-  
 derable portion of the case for the prosecution,  
 and of the inadequacy of the testimony to support  
 the charge. At the conclusion of his speech, the  
 examination of witnesses on behalf of her Majes-  
 ty commenced, and continued for many days.  
 The substance of such evidence will be hereafter  
 presented in the Analysis, and to which great  
 attention should be paid.

On the 23rd of October, an application of a

nature as singular as it was novel, was made by the Attorney General for the King. During the progress of the cause, it had been proved on oath, that some of the Agents of the Milan Commission, had not been very scrupulous in the means which they had adopted to procure evidence, and Colonel Browne, as one of the Commissioners, had been charged with gross misconduct. In consequence of such allegations, the Attorney General now applied that the proceedings might be delayed, to enable him to obtain the attendance of Colonel Browne, from Milan, to refute such charges. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this request was not complied with. Had it been granted, the proceedings might on the same principle have extended to a period of fifty years. Mr. Brougham might have obtained a similar delay to rebut Colonel Browne's evidence; new charges would have arisen, and new delays been required, to an indefinite period.

On the 24th of October, terminated the examination of the witnesses for the Queen, and Mr. Denman in a speech of transcendant eloquence and great ability, recapitulated the insufficiency of the evidence for the prosecution, and retraced the nature of the counteracting testimony given for the Queen.

On the conclusion of that speech, Dr. Lushington addressed their Lordships. Possessing considerable knowledge in ecclesiastical law, his observations on the question of divorce, were interesting and important, and his statement, that no instance before the present was to be found,

where a husband sought to divorce his wife, by accusing her of adultery, at the age of fifty, is deserving of attention. Thus closed the labours of her Majesty's Advocates. Her Attorney, Mr. Vizard, manifested great zeal, wisdom, and prudence; and all her Counsel, not forgetting Mr. WILDE, whose efforts in the cross-examinations, and examination of witnesses, were eminently successful, manifested that legal and gradual knowledge which the case eminently required, and which obtained for them the respect of all classes of the community.

On the 27th, the Attorney General, for the King, commenced his reply; who having paused for the purpose of obtaining a short interval of rest, Mr. Brougham appeared at the bar, and stated that he had a few minutes since, received some very important letters, signed "d'Ompxeda, Minister of Hanover," by which it appeared, that Baron d'Ompxeda had attempted to seduce her Majesty's servants, through the medium of letters from Demont to her relative Mariette Demont. Mr. Brougham was informed that this was not the proper time to offer such evidence. These documents were not, therefore, presented to the House. The Attorney General terminated his address on the following day.

The Solicitor General, on the 28th, addressed their Lordships, in an appropriate speech, which he terminated on Monday the 30th of October.

Mr. Brougham again pressed the reception of Baron d'Ompxeda's letters. By them it appear-

ed, that through the medium of a Police Agent, d' Ompteda had carried on a correspondence between Demont and her sister, after Demont was in the hands of the Milan Commission.

The House, however, finally decided on not receiving these letters.

The Lord Chancellor then proceeded to remark on the evidence, and the speeches of the Peers extended to the 6th of November, when the House divided on the second reading of the Bill.

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That the names of those Lords who voted for, or against the second reading of this Bill may be accurately preserved, a List is subjoined.

#### FOR THE SECOND READING.

Lords Prudhoe, Harris, Ross, Meldrum, Hill, Combermere, Hopetoun, Gambier, Manners, Ailsa, Lauderdale, Sheffield, Redesdale, St. Helens, Northwick, Bolton, Bayning, Carrington, Dunstanville, Rous, Courtown, Galloway, Stuart, Douglas, Grenville, Suffield, Montagu, Gordon, Somers, Rodney, Middleton, Napier, Colville, Gray, Saltoun, Forbes.  
Bishops Cork, Landaff, Peterborough, Gloucester, Chester, Ely, St. Asaph, St. David's, Worcester, London.  
Viscounts Exmouth, Lake, Sidmouth, Melville, Curzon, Sydney, Falmouth, Hereford.

**Earls** Limerick, Ross, Donoughmore, Belmore, Mayo, Longford, Mount Cashel, Kingston, St. Germain, Brownlow, Whitworth, Verulam, Cathcart, Mulgrave, Lonsdale, Orford, Manvers, Nelson, Powis, Liverpool, Digby, Mount Edgecumbe, Strange, Abergavenny, Aylesbury, Bathurst, Chatham, Harcourt, Warwick, Portsmouth, Graham, Pomfret, Macclesfield, Aylesford, Coventry, Rochford, Abingdon, Shaftesbury, Cardigan, Balcarras, Winchelsea, Stamford, Bridgewater, Home, Huntingdon.

**Marquesses** Conyngham, Thomond, Headfort, Anglesea, Northampton, Camden, Exeter, Cornwallis, Buckingham, Lothian, Queensberry, Winchester.

**Dukes** Wellington, Northumberland, Newcastle, Rutland, Beaufort.

**Lord Privy Seal, Lord President, Archbishop** Tuam, Chancellor, Archbishop Canterbury, H. R. H. Duke of Clarence, H. R. H. Duke of York.

AGAINST THE SECOND READING.

**Lords** Breadalbane, Erskine, Arden, Ellenborough, Alvanley, Loftus, Clare, Calthorpe, Downe, Yarborough, Dundas, Selsea, Clifden, Auckland, Gage, Donegal, Amherst, Kenyon, Sherborne, Berwick, Ashburton, Bagot, Walsingham, Dynevor, Foley, Hawke, Sandridge, Ducie, Holland, Grantham, King, Darnley, Howard, Saye and Sele, Dacre, Zouche, Clinton, Audley, De Clifford, Belhaven.

Viscounts Granville, Anson, Duncan, Hood, Leinster, Torrington, Bolingbroke.

Earls Blesinton, Caledon, Enniskillen, Farnham, Gosford, Carrick, Morley, Minto, Harewood, Grey, Romney, Rosslyn, Carnarvon, Mansfield, Fortescue, Grosvenor, Hillsborough, Delawar, Ilchester, Darlington, Egremont, Fitzwilliam, Stanhope, Cowper, Dartmouth, Oxford, Roseberry, Jersey, Albermarle, Plymouth, Essex, Thanet, Denbigh, Suffolk, Pembroke, Derby.

Marquesses Bath, Stafford, Lansdown.

Dukes Portland, Hamilton, Devonshire, Bedford, Grafton, Richmond, Somerset.

Archbishop of York, H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester.

On Tuesday, November 7th, her Majesty was advised by her Counsel to attend at the House of Lords, and sign the following Protest against the Bill. When she had so signed it, she exclaimed, "Regina still, in spite of them." Lord Dacre was requested to present it to the House, and with such wish he complied. The following is the Protest:—

*"To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.*

"The Queen has learnt ~~the~~ decision of the  
 "Lords upon the Bill now before them. In the  
 "face of Parliament, of her family, and of her  
 "country, she does solemnly protest against it.

“ Those who avowed themselves her prosecutors  
 “ have presumed to sit in judgment upon the  
 “ question between the Queen and themselves.  
 “ Peers have given their voices against her, who  
 “ had heard the whole evidence for the charge,  
 “ and absented themselves during her defence.  
 “ Others have come to the discussion from the  
 “ Secret Committee with minds biassed by a  
 “ mass of slander, which her enemies have not  
 “ dared to bring forward in the light.

“ The Queen does not avail herself of her right  
 “ to appear before the Committee; for to her the  
 “ details of the measure must be a matter of in-  
 “ difference; and, unless the course of these un-  
 “ exampled proceedings should bring the Bill  
 “ before the other branch of the Legislature, she  
 “ will make no reference whatever to the treat-  
 “ ment experienced by her during the last twenty-  
 “ five years.

“ She now most deliberately, and before God,  
 “ asserts that she is wholly innocent of the crime  
 “ laid to her charge; and she awaits, with un-  
 “ abated confidence, the final result of this unpa-  
 “ ralleled investigation.”

“ C. R.”

After Lord Dacre had presented it, the Lord  
 Chancellor read the Protest again, and said, that  
 it could not legally be received, as the Protest  
 of her Majesty, unless she attended to support it  
 in person. It might be received as the Address  
 of her Majesty, if their Lordships thought proper,  
 as in the case of Atterbury and others.

Lord Dacre said, that he hoped the Protest would be received without her Majesty being compelled to attend to support it in person. In her situation it could not be properly urged, that she should attend in person.

The Earl of Liverpool wished the Protest to be put upon the Journals, but not in the form of a Protest.

The Lord Chancellor then put the question to the House, "That, notwithstanding the exceptions to the Protest of her Majesty, the House would receive it as the representation of her Majesty's case;" which was unanimously agreed to.

The House then went into a Committee on the preamble of the Bill, and afterwards proceeded to consider its enactments; when the Archbishop of York spoke against the Divorce Clause, and was followed on the same side by the Bishops of Chester and Worcester. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Llandaff and London, supported this clause, and a long debate ensued, which was adjourned to the 8th of November, when the House divided.

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Majority in favour of the Divorce Clause, 67.

His Majesty's Ministers voted against the clause, but many of their friends, who possessed more zeal than judgment, were determined at all events to vote against the Queen—and these were joined

by those Peers who were wholly opposed to the Bill, and who now saw a fair opportunity by introducing into the Bill an obnoxious clause, of effecting its complete rejection. This proceeding was prudent and successful. The vote in fact decided the fate of the Bill, for ministers were divided and their friends were divided with them.

On November 10th, the House assembled at ten o'clock; when the Lord Chancellor put the question for the Bill to be read the third time; and after a long and interesting discussion, in this last stage of the proceeding, it was determined that the Bill should be read by a majority of only NINE votes. But the Bill was not yet passed, and a majority of only NINE in favour of such a measure was in fact a minority.

After the division on the third reading, Lord Dacre rose to present a Petition from her Majesty, praying to be heard by Counsel against the passing of the Bill, when the Earl of Liverpool rose immediately and said, that he apprehended such a course would be rendered unnecessary by what he was about to state. "He could not be ignorant of the state of public feeling with regard to this measure, and it appeared to be the opinion of the House, that the Bill should be read a third time only by a majority of nine votes. Had the third reading been carried by as considerable a number of Peers as the second, he and his noble colleagues would have felt it their duty to persevere with the Bill, and to send it down to the other branch of the Legislature. In the present state of the country, however,

“and with the division of sentiment so nearly  
 “balanced, just evinced by their Lordships, they  
 “had come to the determination not to proceed  
 “further with it. It was his intention, accord-  
 “ingly, to move, that the question, that the Bill  
 “do pass, be put on this day six months.”

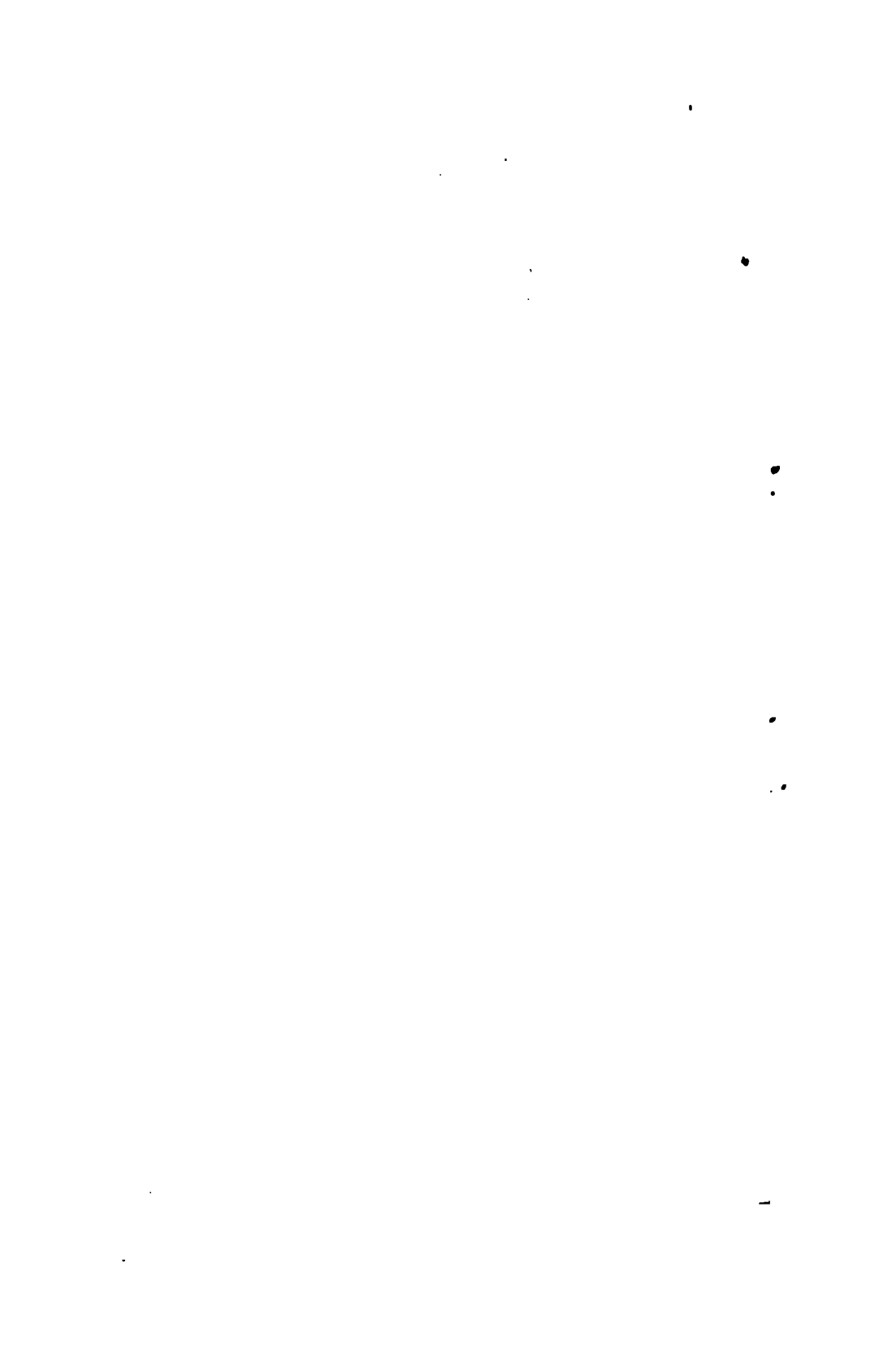
This announcement was received with cheers—her Majesty heard the communication without emotion—but the nation evinced satisfaction as sincere as it was universal. The proceedings which ensued will be subsequently referred to.

To the charges made against her Majesty, and the testimony by which they were supported; and the character of the witnesses, it will be now necessary distinctly to refer. The charges were many and various, but they were all connected with Pergami, whose elevation to the office of Chamberlain, appears to have been the fact on which subsequent surmises, and charges which so seriously affected her character, her happiness, and even her life, were founded. On their truth or falsehood, all opinions of her character must be formed, and the Analysis of the Trial should therefore be perused with the most serious attention.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.









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